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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2088

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21 December 1982

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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REGULATION ON TRANSPORTING OF PASSENGERS, BAGGAGE

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian May 82 pp 28-30

[Council of Ministers Order No 1 of 22 March 1982 on the Transportation of Passengers and Baggage]

[Text] For civilized service and in order to strengthen discipline in the transportation of passengers and their baggage, on the basis of Article 245 of the Civil Code of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania, the Council of Ministers issues this order:

Article 1

The transportation of passengers on established lines of urban service and on those of inter-urban service, and of their baggage, is carried out by the means of transportation of the Ministry of Communications.

In places where there are no established lines for this service, the transportation of workers from their residence to their workplace and vice versa is carried out by the means of transportation of the enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and military units, by designation of the executive committee of the district peoples council.

Article 2

The transportation of a passenger and his baggage, from starting point to destination, is carried out on the basis of a travel ticket and a baggage receipt.

Article 3

The transportation enterprise has the following main duties and rights:

- To ensure that the passenger has the necessary conditions during the trip and that his baggage is transported and protected.
- To bear responsibility for the loss or damage of the baggage, with the exception of cases stipulated in Article 243 of the Civil Code.

Compensation for loss of baggage is given on the basis of the declared value. When it is proven that the real value of the baggage is less than the declared value, the compensation is given on the basis of the real value.

Compensation for damages is given on the basis of the value of the part damaged.

--To provide the passenger with another means of transportation for continuing his trip or to return him to his starting point without charge, refunding the money he paid for the ticket when the trip is interrupted because of a natural disaster, a technical defect or because of some other fault on the part of the transporter.

#### Article 4

The passenger has the following main duties and rights:

--To be equipped with travel tickets and baggage receipts and to keep them until he arrives at his destination.

--To take children under 6 years of age with him in the bus or railroad car, without tickets, and without the child occupying a separate seat, and to take personal belongings weighing less than 20 kg, without charge.

#### Article 5

During the time that passengers are being transported, the transporting of combustible materials, explosives, poisons, abrasives and other things of this nature, and livestock and the drinking of alcoholic beverages are prohibited.

#### Article 6

The violation of the provisions stipulated in articles 4 and 5 of this order and of the regulations set forth by the Ministry of Communications, when it does not constitute a penal act, is punished on the spot by a fine of up to 10 leks, levied by the control organs of the Ministry of Communications and of the Peoples Police. Also, these organs have the right, if needs be, to make the passenger get off right there or at the next station.

#### Article 7

This order goes into effect immediately.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers

Adil Carcani

CSO: 2100/9

FOJTIK SPEECH AT 30 NOVEMBER SEMINAR

AU071348 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 82 p 3

["From" the speech by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a nationwide seminar marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR's founding, held in Prague on 30 November; passages between slantlines are published in boldface]

[Text] The progressive world public, together with the Soviet people, are getting ready to celebrate an important jubilee—the 60th anniversary of the USSR's founding. For us, the CPCZ and all Czechoslovak people, as well, 30 December, the day of the jubilee, will be a great holiday.

Everything important taking place in the present world is influenced by the Soviet Union, by the policy of the Leninist CPSU. The Soviet Union, the first country in which socialism triumphed, is the main source of inspiration and determination to fight for the progressive and revolutionary forces all over the world. It is their reliable support and protector. It serves as a living example of adherence to principles, selflessness and heroism in overcoming all obstacles and difficulties, in seeking ways toward and creating new forms of social life, freed of exploiters and oppressors, in real freedom, democracy and permanent peace.

The fate of our country is forever and firmly linked with the Soviet Union. We are well aware that without the Soviet Union we would not exist as a nation and state. Without the Soviet Union we would be unable to defend the achievements of the revolution; there would be no socialism in our country. Without the Soviet Union we would be unable to enjoy peace and apply ourselves to peaceful construction work.

The firm alliance and friendship binding our nations with the nations of the Soviet Union is a fruit of the /fundamental historical experience/ our people have learned in the struggle for their very existence face to face with the horrors of the fascist yoke, in the fight for restoring the state sovereignty, a sovereignty that could be based on the platform of a new, genuinely people's system and guaranteed by a foreign policy making it impossible, once and for all, for the fate of our country to be decided behind the back of the people, by those pursuing only their limited, selfish class interests.

Munich did not pay off for those who plotted it. The treacherous bourgeoisie had to pay dearly for its intrigues against the people, its shady dealings with the perfidious Western allies and its collaboration with fascism. Its political exponents reaped what they had sown. The anticommunist centers, overflowing with emigres of diverse generations, are needlessly going to the trouble of trying to prove, at any price, the "illegitimacy" of our revolution and the onset of socialism in our country, claiming that it "forcibly" tore our country out of the "Western sphere." According to them, this was unlawful. And it goes without saying that the notorious "Moscow hand" had to be involved. When they speak about the results of the socialist revolution in our country--and, as we know, this does not concern just us--they refer to them only as the consequence of some sort of "expansion of Stalinism." Because the bourgeoisie completely lost its game, because it lost power and property and because power in our country has been seized by the workers' class and all working people, who have finally become their own masters, our country was, according to these anticommunist critics, one of the first "victims" of the expansiveness of the "Soviet imperium," which is the term they use for the socialist community.

By such means they grossly and shamelessly sully and try to denigrate the broad liberation and revolutionary movement of the masses that grew out of the antifascist resistance and which was spearheaded, above all, by communists, genuine patriots and internationalists. Thereby they would like to kill two birds with one stone. To discredit the communist party by presenting it as a force, that, as they have always tried to prove, due to its very internationalism and defense of the Soviet Union since its founding represents some sort of a "foreign element" in the national organism and cannot, therefore, seek the trust and the leadership of our nations. At the same time they would like to cover up the total political and moral fiasco suffered by the bourgeoisie, whose pseudo-patriotism (vlastenceni) did not outlive Munich. Its exponents were justified in linking their interests with the interests of the West and with the rule of capitalism in the world in general. However, they were wrong in elevating these interests to the status of national interests.

The entire process of the gradual transition to socialism--and, in particular, the process of transition in democratic forms, which demonstrated the working people's growing trust in the policy of the communist party and the Soviet Union, whose victory against fascism and liberation of our country earned for it great prestige in the eyes of the broad public--had to lead, /by its own inner logic/, to such changes in the political suprastructure of society and to shaping such political structures and institutions as would once and for all provide the guarantee that the sovereign will of the liberated people would really count and that power would never ever return to the hands of those who gave orders to fire on workers demanding work and bread, to the hands of those who cherished their well-filled purses more than the freedom and independence of their own state.

When we are reproached today for having abolished in the process of the socialist revolution the system of "political pluralism" and, thereby, allegedly, democracy, we retort: Yes, the revolution has eliminated a system that made it

possible to deceive the working people, to simulate democracy by toying with the parliamentary pluralism of political parties while enforcing measures directed against the people, to assert the well-known "policy behind closed doors," and to decide about all fundamental issues of the state and its domestic and foreign policy not according to the will of the people but according to the will, aspirations and interests of those holding in their hands the real power, the power of the capital. It was this system--let them call it whatever they wish--that the revolution has eliminated. Precisely therein was its historical meaning and its greatness. In lieu of this system it has established a state and social system that expresses the will of the people.

No one had to impose it on us. The foundations of the political system of the national front were laid by the national and democratic revolution, which--in a law-governed process--turned into a socialist revolution. The transition of the national and democratic revolution toward a socialist revolution was only accelerated when the reaction, even though the signatures of some of its prominent representatives were below the Kosice Government program, through its constant obstructions and acts of sabotage that culminated in the counter-revolutionary putsch of February 1948 discredited itself in the eyes of the working people.

This had, and it could not be otherwise, its consequences. The political defeat of the reaction in 1948 further reinforced the leading position of the communist party in the political system of the national front and thus significantly strengthened the power of the people. The bourgeoisie had to leave the political stage--it failed not only in the struggle for the national existence and national freedom but, equally, with no less disgrace, when it was necessary to implement the program of the country's reconstruction. It had to expeditiously make room for the workers class and its class allies. This removed, as Klement Gottwald tellingly described the situation, the last barrier in the way of socialist construction. This happened in line with the valid constitutional laws and by democratic means. What was against the constitution and anti-democratic were the maneuvers and conspiracies of the reaction.

We, communists, are criticized for not having missed the historical chance, for having seized it to seal the defeat of the reaction, of those forces who used all means possible to bring back the old times. We defeated them on all fronts, politically, economically, ideologically, in the spirit of Leninism, in the spirit of the bequest of the Great October Socialist Revolution and according to the example set by the Bolshevik Party. But we ask: Wherein did we commit such a horrible sin? What, in fact, should we have waited for? Should we have waited for the bourgeoisie and the international reaction to recover and launch a new attack? Did we not witness that wherever the Western allies' troops were or wherever the American or British Governments were able to impertinently interfere in the affairs of the liberated states, revolutionary forces were being oppressed and everything that the patriotic antifascist forces had achieved was being rapidly done away with? Did we not see how even before February 1948 the reaction disposed of communists in France and Italy and what was happening in Greece where British troops restored by force the hated monarchy and drowned in blood patriots who demanded freedom and



democracy? And should we have been blind in the face of the plots organized against our republic? Should we have, perhaps, continued to profess our gratitude and dedication to the "Western ideals" only because the West and some people in our country regarded the existence of our republic as a gift from the American President Wilson, in defiance of everything that this republic went through and how it was treated? In other words, should we have remained dependent on imperialism and have bartered our freedom for cans and food parcels from the aid funds of the Marshal Plan?

According to some of our critics, we should have apparently let the counter-revolutionary plotters at least in the parliament, after they had maneuvered themselves out of the government. So that one day various theorists of revisionism, that is people who try in all possible ways to sully real socialism and the Soviet Union in particular and to deny the viability of Leninism, might find in history--to which they like to refer so much but which, alas, treats them so uncharitably--at least a single argument in support of their conclusions about the possibility of building socialism under the conditions of "political pluralism," with the assistance of parties that not only reject socialism but that are doing everything possible to prevent it, no matter what its form. By having failed to accommodate our present critics, by having failed to be more forthcoming to their suggestions at that time, by having decided, on the contrary, to build socialism without having its enemies in the key power structures and with the awareness of the inevitability of a sharp class struggle against all those who stand in the way of the building of socialism, and by continuing to insist that the subjugation of the enemies' resistance was essential for the ultimate victory of socialism in our country, for socialism to strike roots, we have obviously prodded our critics to come up with arguments of an utterly different kind against us--arguments about our party's alleged renunciation of national and specific ways toward socialism, about its subordination or subjugation to the so-called Stalinism, from which they have made the biggest bogey of all and about the acceptance of some sort of a "Soviet model" of socialism which may be applicable--alas, how hackneyed is this refrain!--to backward countries at most.

We can assure all those who cast doubt on our path toward socialism--regardless of their motivation, whether it be downright hatred for communism or the attempt to construe some sort of a "brand new model of socialism"--that their criticism, albeit it that it may have an impact on those who are ill-informed or faint-hearted, not only misses its target but, in reality, is utterly counterproductive. /It is, in fact, only in confrontation with this criticism that the correctness of our party's policy stands out, a policy oriented toward a creative, high-principled, consistent and unyielding implementation of Leninism, the Marxism of the epoch that was ushered in by the Great October, the epoch of mankind's transition to socialism./

How to proceed in this, for every genuine revolutionary, fundamental matter, how to apply and develop Leninism--that we have really learned, and continue to learn, from the glorious CPSU, from the Bolsheviks. We are proud that this has been characteristic of our party especially since Comrade Gottwald came to lead it and since April 1969.

The endeavor for the party's Bolshevization forms the content of its ripening process, of its shaping into the real vanguard of the workers' class. It was only because our party had become a party of the Leninist, Bolshevik type, because it had freed itself of its social democratic heritage and of the ballast of opportunism of all kinds that it was able to fulfill the historical mission of the leading political force of the working masses and live up to the tasks in bringing about revolutionary transformations of our society.

Let us recall how in the sixties when the party honestly tried to rectify the wrongdoings [prehmaty] of the so-called personality cult, when the need to draw strength from Lenin's work was so strongly manifested as well as the need to reassess in the spirit of his work the forms and methods of political-organizational and managerial work and to strengthen the party's ties with the people and to deepen and reinforce the party's leading role in society, some people tried to throw out the baby with the bathwater and to cast doubt on the entire Bolshevization process. More than once they described the Bolshevization efforts, associated with the name of Gottwald, as one of the sources of the pillorized deformations. That was the beginning of a campaign of disorientation, which was designed to prepare the ground for so-called liberalization and democratization, for the opportunist policy of the right-wingers and overall discrediting of the party, for bullying its history, for breaking up and gradually liquidating the party, for watering it down and dissolving it in a "pluralist" system.

No one claims that no mistakes were made in forming the party as a Marxist-Leninist vanguard, in the process of Bolshevization and, in particular, in the party's practical activity, in implementing its leading role. It suffices to recall the more-than-once criticized methods of implementing the party's leading role that led to substituting the pertinent managerial bodies, to reducing their responsibility, to subjectivism and voluntarism. They were undoubtedly among the causes of the mounting crisis in the sixties. And I think that even today no one can claim that we were perfect, that the Leninist norms of party life and Leninism have entered the bloodstream of all of us, that everything we do, our decisions and thoughts, is based on a thorough knowledge of the revolutionary movement. In this respect we will never be able to say that we have already reached a limit at which we may stop.

One of the most important documents our party has ever adopted, a document to which we should always return, which we should study and against which we should measure our practice, the lesson drawn from the crisis development in the party and society after the 13 CPCZ Congress, rightly stresses that, as a rule, we experienced the greatest difficulties and the most serious problems when we believed, to use Comrade Gottwald's telling image, that our trees would grow into the sky; when we failed to be guided by the Leninist demand to analyze absolutely soberly and critically the situation and our own work, when we tolerated deviations from the theory and practice of Leninism, from the method of materialist dialectics, when we backed off from the principles of the Leninist doctrine about building socialism or tolerated inconsistency in applying this doctrine in practice.

/On the other hand, all the successes and victories we have achieved along the revolutionary path in profoundly transforming our society and which are reflected in the firmness of the socialist system in our country, in the advantages demonstrated by this system in all spheres of social life, in the unity between the party and the people, in the harmonious cooperation and fraternity between the nations and nationalities of the CSSR, and in the standing of our state in the present world, regarded as a firm part of the international community of the socialist countries—all this has been achieved solely and exclusively due to the fact that our party has been guided in its policy by the generally valid doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and that it has consistently learned how to consistently implement this doctrine, how to apply it to our conditions and how to transform it with creativity and principle into living reality from those most experienced, from those who have progressed the farthest on the path toward communism—the Soviet communists./

As is known, the entire revolutionary movement—no matter how intricate and tortuous its path may be, no matter how great the difficulties may be that it has to go through in one part of the world or another, no matter how desperate the efforts of the world reaction may be to thwart the results of the revolutionary processes begun by the Great October 65 years ago—viewed in the whole historical perspective, shows an upward and irresistible development. This is precisely because the masses of millions of people cannot be prevented from having access to the inspiring ideas of Leninism mediated by the living example of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, of which our country is part.

Small wonder that anticommunism is doing everything it can to stifle the impact of the ideas of Leninism and to weaken the attractive power of the example of real socialism. However, the instigators of this counteroffensive are concerned, above all, with discrediting the Soviet Union, which is the mainstay of all revolutionary and liberation movements, of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world. The bosses of the imperialist revolutionizing impact of the USSR's example that is robbing them of their sleep and making them feel most uneasy. We remember the American president's speech in the British Parliament this June. In it he called the whole "free world" to launch a new crusade against the Soviet Union and its allies. To all appearance, the recent conference in Washington, which was marked by the participation of numerous prominent representatives of the Western states' present policy led by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, was intended to detail the propositions expounded in Reagan's speech. Everything suggests that they will try to make their crusade a total one and to involve the whole "free world" in it.

The main blow, however, is to be aimed at the land of the October, the USSR. It is there, according to the instigators of this new crusade, that the root of all evil lies. After all, even the peace movement, the movement against the deployment of destructive nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, is regarded by them as "Moscow's crime."

The imperialists spare no means when it comes to building the technical base and to training cadres in the area of propaganda and information. They are



trying to form an information monopoly, to seize full control of publishing houses and major press organs and to subordinate press agencies to themselves. To have free hands in this activity they would like, under the pretext of freedom of information, to use for their aims international negotiations on security and cooperation. They are making their willingness to support detente contingent on the adoption of such commitments on our part as would facilitate their interference in our affairs, their political and ideological subversion. However, even today they have hardly any regard for international law and agreements. In Austria, for example, even though it is a neutral state whose government wants to develop relations of cooperation with us, they are using television, radio and other information media for gross attacks on our country, our social system and official figures.

It is becoming apparent that we must anticipate that the aggressive circles of imperialism will continue to escalate their attacks on real socialism. They will try to deprive socialism of initiative in the propaganda of peace and progress and to cover up and conceal everything that makes our system attractive, that proves its historical supremacy over capitalism and its undeniable merits.

We must also anticipate that, as heretofore, they will not shy away from any lie. However, that is nothing new. Anti-Sovietism and anticommunism date back to the time of the founding of the Soviet Union and the emergency of the communist movement. It is only a question of the rise or fall of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism at different periods of time. In this connection I would like to quote a few sentences from a remarkable article that was published long ago, on 28 January 1920, in the American paper NEW REPUBLIC, under the headline "The Red Hysteria." The authors of the article are the famous bourgeois journalist Walter Lippmann and a certain Charles Merz. They were not people from our camp but they shielded themselves against the flood of propaganda that was intended to erect a barrier to truth about the newly born Soviet Russia.

"The root of all our present problems," they wrote at that time, "is the lie, the official lie, the unofficial lie as well as the lie that outwardly resembles truth. Our nation is beginning to understand that. All the hysterical, endless and complicated impatience of our days is linked with the chief lie--the lie about Russia.... They infected us with this lie to be able to declare war on the Russian nation and sustain it. Monstrous, gigantic propaganda was poured forth on mankind to be able to maintain the disgraceful blockade imposed on a nation that demands peace, to be able to provoke a fratricidal war in Russia. It was a lie that the Russians believed in Kolchak and Denikin. It was a lie that they did not want the Soviet government but a government of the sort that was offered to them by the generals of the allied troops and the monarchist cliques. It was a lie that they were getting ready to invade peaceful Europe. It was a lie that Soviet Russia did not offer any honest peace with safeguards. The lie about Russia is the mother of every lie. And, indeed, it was a lie and as such let it be damned."

Lies about Russia, and the Soviet Union and, today, about real socialism and the revolutionary movement in general, are still the mother of all lies--the

main content of the "psychological war" that is being unleashed by imperialism. Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general, has rightly called the absurd accusation that the Soviet Union harbors expansionist and war intentions and the egregious claims about some kind of "Soviet military threat" and a "communist danger" the greatest lie of the present times. It is seconded by the shameful lie that calls the nations' revolutionary and liberation movement, which is an answer to unbearable exploitation and the oppression of the masses by contemporary imperialism, plain "international terrorism." In their animal hatred for the Soviet Union and for communism, even the most responsible figures of American imperialism do not hesitate to threaten with a nuclear war, which, according to the so-called doctrine of limited nuclear war, they would be obviously willing to unleash wherever it would not affect American territory. In this connection some of them cynically speak of the necessity of "sacrificing Europe" for the sake of destroying the Soviet Union and finally settling accounts with communism.

In no way do we underrate the propaganda campaigns pursued by the leaders of the imperialist world. All peace-loving forces must be seriously alarmed by the unpredictable adventurous policy of Washington's hawks. But we know very well about the correlation of forces in the world and about the way objective historical laws operate, laws which are also expressed in the broad, unprecedented people's peace movement. The basic factor of today is that this movement can rely on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism. The Soviet Union is persistently and untiringly striving to save and further deepen detente, to consistently implement the principles of the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of peoples and states irrespective of their social system. At the same time it is taking good care to preserve the relative strategic equilibrium in the correlation of military forces between the United States and the USSR, between the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Pact.

The present situation in the world, and the problems which we must resolve on the path of continuing to build socialism in our country, also enhance the responsibility of our ideological front. It is in the awareness of this responsibility that we must approach the tasks with which we have been charged by the 16th Party Congress and which concern /the substantial improvement of ideological and the entire political-education work./

The conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee Session of March 1980, which continue to be topical, have determined how we should proceed. At the moment it is particularly important to ensure the vital connection between political-educational and ideological work on the one hand and the organizational and management activities of party and state bodies and organizations of the national front on the other's to ensure that our words do not diverge from our deeds; and to ensure that we do not allow the party's authority and leading role to be threatened by the failure to draw conclusions from those instances when practice clearly diverges from the principles of our policy and from the resolutions we adopt, when pragmatism and alibism arise and when burning problems are circumvented, and so forth. It is undoubtedly important today to have at our disposal the latest means of ideological influence. However, the main thing in this work is not the ability to drown out the enemies' activities, but the ability to implement our policy so that

it proves the force of our ideology, of our truth. We confront lies, falsifications and half-truths with truth. Herein lies our superiority. The only thing is that we must not confuse the duty to use convincing arguments, based on a fair analysis of the reality and simultaneously on the deep intrinsic enthusiasm for the ideals of communism and on devotion to the cause of the working man and the socialist fatherland, with an alleged duty to talk in formal phrases and make declarations of formal attitudes.

Time and again we have pointed out the ineffective and harmful nature of the so-called propaganda of successes, a primitive propaganda of a troublefree path to socialism, which ignores the operation of the laws of dialectics in building socialism and communism and which operates with black-and-white categories and ideas. No matter how convinced the authors of this propaganda may be that it proves their adherence to principle and their loyalty to socialism and Marxism-Leninism, such propaganda in fact plays into the hands of our adversaries. Those who are trying to denigrate socialism, to instill in people a lack of faith in the socialist perspective and nihilism as regards the possibilities of our social system, are tremendously pleased whenever they encounter propaganda of ours that does not correspond to the working people's actual life experience and does not direct them to overcome obstacles and resolve the problems that are overwhelming them, but which conceals or even denies the very existence of these problems instead.

In fighting for the mind of present-day man, in striving to make him adopt our own scientific world outlook, to become responsible and thrifty, to make him show his awareness in his attitude to work and in the thrifty handling of society's property; in striving to make him express his socialist conviction in corresponding behavior rather than in merely talking about it in public--in all this we must not forget how enormously important it is for him to understand well the times which gave birth to our socialist present. It is no coincidence that our enemies are devoting so much time to belittling the party's activities in the historic period which decided who would win and whether Czechoslovakia would be socialist--or whether it would revert to capitalism.

However, we may look back with pride to the period when the foundations of our socialist social system were being laid. These are firm foundations, unwavering and reliable--among other things, or perhaps mainly, because the party at that time made skillful use of the CPSU's experience and accomplished remarkable work in implementing Marxism-Leninism under the given specifically historical conditions in which the revolutionary process was taking place.

I have already mentioned that we must very resolutely reject each and every slander about our party which claims that at that time we acted without regard for the specific conditions of our historical development. Had this been true, we could not have achieved such a magnificent victory as the one achieved by our working people under the communist party's leadership in the people's democratic and socialist revolution. There was of course one circumstance which we always mention and will always continue to mention with pride. It was a most significant and, in a certain sense, a determining factor which favorably influenced the result of our revolution: and that was the fact that our fatherland was liberated by the army of the first country of socialism.

We will never forget that in this way our revolution, evoked by the all-national opposition to fascist tyranny, was able to gain real momentum and to achieve its goal--the complete liberation of the working people from the domination of capital. The liberation of our country by the Soviet army made possible the successful transition of the national and democratic revolution into a socialist revolution in a peaceful way, that is, it made it impossible for this process to be prematurely broken off and frustrated by any imperialist interference. It is the greatest malicious slander of our people to present this factor in the development of our revolution--which developed, thanks to the existence of this factor, in accordance with the sovereign will of the overwhelming majority of our people--as a factor that obviously determined the direction of events allegedly against the wishes and aspirations of our people. This can be claimed only by those whom the revolution affected and cast aside on the garbage heap of history, discarding them from the nation. Led by the well-tested communist party, which was the only one of all the political parties that had not failed during the difficult times of the occupation and during the postwar period, which always stood firmly on the side of the people not only in happy times, but also in the times of suffering, and which bore upon its shoulders the severest burdens that afflicted the people, our people did not need anyone to tell them what the resolution could or could not achieve, how far it may or may not go, and where the limits of its revolutionary activity lay.

And our people understood, and still understand, very well who protected them on the path of revolutionary transformations. /They already regarded the Soviet Union not only as their liberator, but also as their powerful protector in the postwar renewal, in the building of their own state./ The people's victory in February 1948 strengthened not only the authority and positions of the communist party as the leading political force of the national front, but also the authority and unquestionable prestige of the Soviet Union.

And this authority and prestige logically strengthened in the subsequent period, in the process of building socialism. The alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union--which have relieved us of the centuries-old feeling of uncertainty about the fate of our nations, a feeling harbored so intensely, and sometimes even desperately, by our revivalists--guaranteed together with the victory of the socialist revolution also the successful path of our further development. /This is why our firm course along this path, and our achieving along it the victory of socialism, quite naturally required us to further deepen, strengthen and comprehensively develop the fraternal ties between our nations and the nations of the Soviet Union, to develop and consolidate the unity of our parties, the unity of the CPCZ and CPSU--a unity based on a common ideology, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and on the principles of proletarian internationalism./

This was an objective need which continues to exist, and which will not cease to exist even in the future--a need justly formulated by Klement Gottwald as /one of the main laws governing the development of our society and the socialist construction of our country./ The need was and is also the source of our duty to broadly apply the experience the CPSU has acquired in building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, in the construction and further advance of socialism in our own country.



In fact, for our party and our people this was never a thing that could burden us, that we could feel to be a kind of threat to our economy, our independence, our national characteristics or our identity. And there can also be no question about its weakening in any way our responsibility to decide on the tasks affecting the interests of Czechoslovak people. Despite the various mistakes we have made in the past--for instance, by simplifying many problems--we have always made decisions in the awareness of our own responsibility; and no subsequent alibiism, which could perhaps excuse our simplified and incorrect views and approaches, can change one iota of the basic thing--namely, /that the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people, the experience of the country which was the first to embark on the unexplored and difficult path of socialism, was and still is of enormous, invaluable assistance to us. It significantly enriched the theory and practice of our revolutionary reorganization of our society and alleviated our development in many respects./

Part of the greatness of the CPCZ's history is that, in resolving all the problems set before it by our revolutionary era, it has always been able to combine the workers' class interests with the national interests, and these interests with the duties of internationalism. We should never forget that this is the main source of our party's respect and authority both among our own people, and in the international revolutionary and progressive movement.

As recalled by Gustav Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress, the CPCZ has been an inseparable component of the international workers' movement since its very birth. We are proud that Vladimir Ilich Lenin, leader of the international proletariat, organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, creator of a new type of party--the party of Bolsheviks, and founder of the USSR, stood at the cradle of our own party. Loyalty to the Leninist principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, fraternal cooperation and solidarity with the revolutionary workers' parties throughout the world, are and will always be the key principle of our party's policy. Everything that we do for the benefit of our people and our fatherland is done in the awareness of our international responsibility. It is in this way that we best prove our patriotism.

Real patriotism, one which bears in mind the interests of the people and the fatherland, which holds dear the progressive traditions and culture of the nations, proceeds in unity with proletarian and socialist internationalism. Of course, for the communists both patriotism and internationalism are no mere slogans on a demonstration banner. They are a matter of vital conviction, of honor and conscience, a matter of the highest values. We must always feel pain and concern when we encounter a lukewarm attitude to the socialist fatherland, to the homeland in which we were born and in which we live; we feel the same when we encounter a lack of understanding for the needs and interests of those who are standing together with us, in the same anti-imperialist front.

/For us, Czechoslovak communists, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism invariably include a warm feeling of respect for the Soviet Union, of admiration for the Leninist CPSU and sincere comradely relations with it./ The simple and unpretentious heroism of Julius Fucik contains patriotism and

internationalism, love for the country of the Soviets, and the hope with which he looked toward it in the conviction of our great common future—all in one solid block of steel. And since I have mentioned his name, which has since become a symbol, we see in Julius Fucik in particular that his love of his fatherland and his home country was deeply rooted in respect for the working man—that it was inseparably linked with an understanding and recognition of the liberating mission of the workers' class in our current historical era. This is the foundation of his positive attitude to the victorious socialist revolution in Russia, in his endeavor to grasp the purpose of the gigantic struggle which Russia's so severely tried proletariat had to wage against the unbelievable brutality and obsolescence of the forces of the old, exploiting world. The fact that Russia's proletariat succeeded in overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles, that despite all the plotting and inveterate resistance of the allied domestic and world reaction it succeeded in laying the foundation stone of mankind's revolutionary revival, that it took upon itself a truly epochal task—to pave mankind's path toward communism, toward the victory of free creative work, toward installing its rule—this fact was for Fucik, as it was for all communists who regard the Soviet Union as a clear, bright beacon, a natural and indisputable reason /to measure the firmness and truthfulness of the patriotism and internationalism of every revolutionary and progressive person by his relationship toward the Soviet Union./

When Klement Gottwald said in the past that the relationship toward the Soviet Union is a touchstone, a criterion of real patriotism and real internationalism, he expressed the convictions and sentiments of all Czechoslovak communists. This has been always valid, from the very first days after the birth of the country of the Soviets. It is also valid today, and will continue to be valid in the future.

Our relationship with the Soviet Union is determined by the entire modern history of our peoples. It was no coincidence that, despite the furious resistance of the ruling bourgeoisie—and let us not forget that up to 1936 in our country people used to be imprisoned for exclaiming "long live the Soviet Union," and that it was our bourgeoisie which was the longest to refuse to acknowledge the Soviet Union de jure, in fact until it was driven to do so by the fact that our country was threatened by Hitlerite fascism—organizations were soon established in our country, which rallied a relatively large number of friends of the Soviet Union. At the beginning of the 'thirties, the Union of Friends of the Soviet Union, which was born out of the well known society for economic and cultural contacts with the USSR—in which a remarkable role was played by Zdenek Nejedly in particular—already had up to 300,000 members. The influence wielded by the Union of Friends of the Soviet Union on the broad masses of workers and of the progressive intelligentsia was enormous.

Slav awareness also played a certain role in shaping a positive attitude to the Soviet Union. This awareness has been rooted among the people's masses since time immemorial and is, in fact, largely identified with the pro-Russian attitude in our country. With the victory of the Russian October and the establishment of the Soviet Union, in which the RSFSR was the core of the

voluntary union of free peoples--60 years ago the other Soviet republics and oblasts had rallied around it on the principles of absolutely equal rights, setting up a powerful state of workers and peasants on one-sixth of our planet, a state relieved of tsarism and of all its political and spiritual supports--our Slav and pro-Russian attitudes received a new and progressive content. And it is indisputable that they have played a significant role in shaping the specific contents of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism within the process of the revolutionary transformations of our society. Today this is one of our most significant progressive and revolutionary traditions.

Our relationship with the Soviet Union--anchored in a whole number of agreements and accords, among which a key place is held by the treaty on friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation of 1943 and the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of May 1970, which was linked with it--is, of course, not in the least determined by the simple awareness of the advantages which these ties ensure for us and for our advance in every sphere of social life. On behalf of all Czechoslovak communists and all Czechoslovak people, Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, declared from the rostrum of our party's 16th Congress: /"By its pioneer work, the Soviet Union is paving mankind's way toward freedom and social progress.... It is the Soviet Union which is making an enormous effort to protect the world against the catastrophe of a nuclear war, against the destruction of human civilization and culture. The 26th CPSU Congress convincingly reaffirmed that peace and the peoples' freedom are supreme values for the Soviet Union; that Soviet man links his happiness with the happiness of all mankind."/

Several days ago we received with great sorrow the announcement of the death of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, great son of the CPSU and the Soviet people, outstanding Leninist and revolutionary, acknowledged fighter for peace, and our friend and Czechoslovakia's liberator. At the 16th Congress we ardently welcomed him, and listened with pride to the speech he addressed to our party, to all Czechoslovak people; a speech in which he expressed high appreciation of the historic road of our party and our people, of the experience we have acquired in building socialism, which he characterized as an experience that had acquired international significance and through which we have contributed to the common treasury of Marxism-Leninism. He particularly underscored the way our party had overcome the crisis at the end of the sixties and renewed its Marxist-Leninist character, and also the way we are building advanced socialism in the spirit of the principles of Leninism. Our party and people also deeply appreciate the appraisal of Comrade Gustav Husak's merits contained in Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's statement. We will always remember this last statement by Comrade Brezhnev in Czechoslovakia. For us it is a kind of legacy, particularly in the parts in which he indicated our common duty to deepen and consolidate our mutual relations, to strengthen the unity of all countries of the socialist community, and to ward off jointly and most resolutely all the attempts by our enemies to weaken and disrupt this unity.

We know very well that the CPSU's policy is not prone to succumbing to the influences of the movement. Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, stated this clearly and unambiguously when taking

leave of Comrade Brezhnev, and at the latest CPSU Central Committee Session. The CPSU's line at the 24th, 25th and 26th Congresses is a line of creative Marxism-Leninism, of continuing Lenin's legacy. It corresponds to the needs of the times, to the laws governing modern developments in the world. The principled and resolute way this line is being realized, the responsibility with which it is approached by the Soviet communists, both before their own people and before the revolutionary and progressive movement in the world, are also an encouragement for us; they provide certainty for us, and inspire us to intensify our endeavors to fulfill the program of the party's 16th Congress.

In realizing the program of further building the advanced socialist society and in resolving the difficult tasks set before us by the present and which we will also encounter in the future, we Czechoslovak communists are fortunate to be able to proceed in the closest and firmest possible collaboration with the Soviet communists and also in international unity with the other fraternal parties. The experience of the CPSU and of other fraternal parties is, and will always be, a rich fount of knowledge also for our party; it provides us now, and will provide us in the future, with strength for our life and work in the coming years.

For us, for all Czechoslovak people, friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviets are and will be the support and guarantee of all our further successes.

CSO: 2400/83



## PERSECUTION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CSSR

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 21 Oct 82 pp 3, 4

[Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] The relation between the state and the Catholic church in Czechoslovakia has continued /to cool off rapidly/. The impression is growing that state and party are imitating the development in Poland in their hostile attitude toward the church, and that they believe that the establishment of an independent union [in Poland] was the result of the triumphal papal visit of 1979, which for the first time made Catholics conscious of their real strength. For several months now /a confrontation/ has been developing between church and state; Cardinal /Tomasek/ is experiencing difficulties.

## Sharp Attacks On John Paul II

In a statement of 8 March, the Vatican Congregation of Faith forbade members of the clergy from belonging to /political organizations/. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, this statement was directed against the priests association /"Pacem in Terris"/, which is friendly toward the government. After a visit to Rome, Cardinal Tomasek demanded that his priests leave the priests association; Czech dignitaries and Bishop /Gabris/ of /Trnava/ backed the cardinal's demand can be judged only indirectly, that is, from the government's reaction. Several times during party newspapers and TVORBA, the party's political-cultural weekly, sharply attacked the Vatican and /Pope /John Paul II/ personally. The chief of the government's church office, /Karl Hruza/, who has held his job ever since the Communist takeover in 1948, accused the pope of still holding /Cold War/ views and of blocking the appointment of bishops to vacant seats. The Vatican sanctions [Hruza said] only those clerical associations that fight against socialism and forbids those that stand for peace and social progress, whereas Czech politicians at various high levels have taken the opportunity to pay tribute to the patriotic and peaceful activities of "Pacem in Terris."

Hruza mentioned support for the "Soviet policy of peace" as a positive accomplishment of the priests association. Even more important for the government, however, is the fact that Pacem in Terris, to which about half of the priests in Czechoslovakia are assumed to belong, lets itself be used to paralyze /the Catholic hierarchy./ This was the main reason for founding

Pacem in Terris in 1970, as a secret document has since made known. Those in the West who are familiar with the church situation in the CSSR believe that "Pacem in Terris" priests can be divided into three groups: government agents, opportunistic fellow-travelers, and priests who joined the association out of fear. This three-way division corresponds with customary Communist subversion tactics. The make-up of the association also explains the resignations from it.

#### Vatican Considered As A State

The Communist party of the CSSR is trying to explain the conflict with the Catholic church not as a question of the practice of religion but as a quarrel between Prague and Rome. The Vatican is described as a state which tries to meddle in /the internal affairs/ of another state. The party cites as examples of meddling not only the ban against "Pacem in Terris" but the oft-repeated statement that the pope has secretly consecrated three bishops, two of whom are factory workers and one a truck driver, and that he supports the establishment of an underground church. Arguments of this kind would at least mean that religious freedom within the state was not well off. The Communist party of Czechoslovakia points out there is a /constitutional guarantee/ of religious freedom and provides ample statistical materials for this claim. Thus the country is supposed to have no less than 18 [district] churches and religious communities with a total of almost 5,000 priests and 27 church newspapers. The state pays the priests' salaries and provides financial support to the six theological faculties.

#### Influence Through Financial Dependence

These statistics, however, say nothing about the reality in which religious communities and especially the Catholic church are placed--except that the state kept religious communities in /financial dependence/. Because priests receive a state salary, though a small one, they are not only, as it is put officially, obligated to be faithful to the state but must also accept a whole series of stringent limitations. For example, it is illegal to "obstruct state supervision of religious practice," which means that a priest who meets with some of his parishioners for prayer outside the church building can be punished. The state is not opposed to church weddings. But couples who are students, for example, do not dare to be married in a church because they are afraid of losing their places at the university. Chances of professional promotion are bad for practicing Catholics. Even though State Secretary Hruza recommends that Western press representatives visit priests in their churches and talk with them, the accompanying interpreters usually are told that it might not be to their professional advantage to if they took part in discussions.

Over the last year and a half, /discrimination/ has developed more and more into /repression/ of the Catholic church. In this period, at least six priests and lay people were sentenced because they had said masses without state approval and had given courses in theology or religious instruction to young people in private homes. The sentences ranged from 4 months to 2 years in prison. About one dozen addition men and women were sentenced to up to 3 years in prison because they had distributed or printed religious literature.

### Growing Respect For the Church

Government measures of repression and persecution have in no way frightened away the courageous members of the clergy. On the contrary, these measures have resulted in a /more determined attitude/ on their part. It is true that in view of the external circumstances priests do not seek open conflicts but, on the whole, try quietly to accomplish whatever is possible within the framework of what they are permitted to do. Respect has grown for the Catholic church, which for a long time in /Bohemia/, had been a pillar of strength for the Habsburgs and therefore an object of nationalist suspicion, even if this new respect does not necessarily result in increased church attendance. Cardinal /Tomasek/ is respected by the people. Thus the question arises whether the repressive policies of the CSSR Communist party have not been /counterproductive/.

Slightly different are circumstances in traditionally Catholic /Slovakia/. Priests of the /Tatra region/ had frequent contacts with their colleagues to the north of the mountains. It is not likely, however, that the church in Slovakia could become as influential as the church in Poland because its organizational structure, which was destroyed in the Stalin era, has been /very weak/ ever since.

8889

CSO: 2300/32

CPSL WEEKLY ATTACKS VATICAN, CATHOLIC CHURCH

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 41, 14 Oct 82 p 8

[Article by university lecturer Jan Bilas, PhD, ScC: "Clericalism and the Workers Movement -- Reactionary Aims of the Vatican"]

[Text] The encyclical "Laborem Exercens" by Pope John Paul II contains clericalist and anticommunist concepts of social teachings of Catholicism, particularly on issues concerning labor and the workers class, and in it the Vatican put again Christianization and clericalization of the workers class in the forefront of its ideological and political program. Under its hypocritical concern about the problems of modern working people, under its abstractly humanistic postulates and illusory spiritual consolation the Vatican tries to hide its true reactionary aims which have been revealed many times through history and in our times in their stark nakedness.

Clericalist propaganda does not lack allegations crediting the church for organizing the workers and for dealing with their social problems. The history of the workers movement, however, unequivocally confirms that Christian workers organizations and the movement of Christian socialism have nothing in common with the contemporary workers movement. On the contrary, they represent regression to the church's feudal aspirations. K. Marx and F. Engels said in "the Communist Party Manifesto": "As the priest would always go hand in hand with the feudal lord, so also goes clerical socialism hand in hand with feudal socialism." Illusory protests against actual conditions, the mysticism and martyr's resignation of Christian workers organizations, as well as of Christian socialism as a whole, obstructed the process of raising the class consciousness of the working people and served the church and clericalism as a tool in smashing the unity of the working people.

Only after the defeat of the Paris Commune and during the ascendancy of imperialism did clericalism begin to realize the real power of the workers movement. In cooperation with the bourgeoisie, it initiated a systematic organizational, ideological and conceptual program among the workers with the objective of curtailing the influence of socialist trade unions and workers political parties on the masses of the working people. As a result of far-reaching political and organizational efforts of the church and the bourgeoisie, Christian trade unions began appearing one after another in 1886-1894 in most European states. The "recruiters" for Christian trade unions focused on believing workers with

inferior class consciousness and education, mostly outside main industrial centers. From the very beginning, the church, the bourgeoisie and the leaders of Christian trade unions used the inconsistent program of the revolutionary trade unions and the opportunism, or revisionism, of the socialist and social democratic parties to their reactionary ideological and political advantage.

In his encyclical "Rerum Novarum," Pope Leo XIII outlined in 1891 the ideological basis for the relations of clericalism toward the workers class in general and for the action of Christian trade unions in particular. In fact, this encyclical concluded the process of the Catholic Church's adaptation to the conditions of capitalism. By this program the church identified its place and mission in defense of capitalism against the revolutionary determination of the proletariat. "Rerum Novarum" theologically, philosophically and politically upheld capitalism, which is based on private ownership of the means of production, on exploitation and social inequality, as the only political system in agreement with Catholic social and ethical principles. The encyclical declared that strikes and revolutions are evil, and appealed to workers to join christian trade unions.

The antiworker and counterrevolutionary principles of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" were most thoroughly enforced precisely by Christian trade unions. Using believing workers, the clericalists, the bourgeoisie and the leaders of Christian trade unions made every effort to break down the workers movement from the inside by proclaiming abstract principles of Christian ethics, by renouncing strikes as acts of violence contrary to Christianity, and by rejecting socialism, which they branded as godless and immoral society. Leaders of Christian trade unions would join with all kinds of reformists, opportunists and revisionists in the workers movement. Clericalists and the bourgeoisie perceived the greatest merits of Christian trade unions in their shattering the unity of ideology, organization and action in the workers movement.

Christian trade unions played a reactionary role in the history of the workers movement. Particularly after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, they joined the clergy and the imperialist bourgeoisie in an open attack against communism. Christian trade unions hold a place of "honor" in the camp of clericalist and anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The "historical merits" of the clericalists and of the leaders of Christian trade unions, which they happily assumed, include their participation in breaking up the workers movement on the eve of World War II, their indirect support of the fascist ascendancy in Italy, Germany, Portugal and elsewhere, and their share in fomenting the so-called Cold War.

As a tool of the Vatican, German fascism and Slovak clerofascism, the Christian trade unions played a reactionary role in splitting the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Republic and in the penetration of fascism eastward. Christian trade unions in the Sudetenland and in Slovakia used nationalism and spread religious intolerance to break up class solidarity with Czech and Slovak workers. Their program postulated fragmentation of the republic.

Until the proclamation of the so-called Slovak State, Slovak Christian trade unions failed to show any distinct effect on the workers movement. Following



the declaration of the Slovak State they turned into a tool serving to liquidate the social and political achievements for which the workers class in Slovakia had fought and which it had won. They were a part of the clerofascist political system focusing mainly on denying the revolutionary essence of the working class, i.e., its materialistic world view, its Marxist-Leninist ideology, its revolutionary trade union and political organization.

Especially in the struggle of progressive forces in the world against fascism, the church's overt clericalist anticommunism prompted the church to give preference to fascism rather than to socialism, which became one of the main causes of the crisis of clericalism after World War II. In Christian trade unions, this crisis was expressed by extensive declericalization of the workers movement. Believing workers absolutely rejected the compromised trade union leaders and the intervention of the church and clericalist political parties in working people's affairs. Declericalization and de-Christianization of the trade union movement led to the disbandment of the International Conference of Christian Trade Unions and to the disintegration of the Christian trade union movement in France, Belgium and other states. Christian trade unions ceased to exist in those states where the working class itself had taken the government into its own hands, i.e., in the countries of the world socialist system. This defeat of clerical strategy aiming at direct control of the most revolutionary power in the world, the working class, seriously weakened the position of clericalism in the world.

The Second Vatican Council was compelled to acknowledge openly the crisis of Catholicism and all Christian religions. It found it especially difficult to admit that the workers had turned away from the church. The so-called council popes, John XXIII and Paul VI, hypocritically tried to interpret de-Christianization of the working class as a result of misunderstanding. According to John XXIII, the church had always been most concerned about "those who are suffering and exploited." However, it should be mentioned that its aid to the exploited people had always been abstract and tended to help more those who are the cause of poverty and exploitation in the world. In the council documents, we may find proclamations by which the Vatican acknowledged the achievements for which the working class had fought and which it had won in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the council fathers had forgotten that whatever advantages the working class had won from the bourgeoisie by strikes and struggle, it had also won in its struggle against the clergy and against the divisive policies of the leaders of Christian trade unions.

The Second Vatican Council itself could not stop the process of de-Christianization of the working class, which is a part of an objective process in raising the working people's class consciousness and in a broader context, an expression of a total crisis of Christian religion. Sociological data from church sources demonstrate, for instance, that only 3-5 percent of the workers in industrial centers of the FRG and 3-8 percent of the workers in France attend religious services (GEIST UND TAT, 1966, Nos 7-8). The situation in other industrially developed capitalist states in Europe is the same.

The crisis of clericalism, especially of its relation to the working class, has forced the church hierarchy, clericalist parties and anticommunist centers to

seek new, more efficient methods for their struggle against Marxism-Leninism and scientific atheism. Since the 1950's, and particularly after the Second Vatican Council, we may note several "new" strategies of clericalism in its effort to blunt the revolutionary character of the working class and to undermine world socialism.

1. Method aimed at disorientation of the workers class rising in countries which are fighting against colonialism and neocolonialism for their national and social freedom.
2. Method aimed at repeated initiation of a "dialogue" with workers, communists and atheists who had already abandoned clericalism.
3. Method aimed at splitting the working class in socialist states.

Clericalism began using the International Conference of Christian Trade Unions to implement its program aimed at disorienting the working class in countries which have joined the movement for national liberation. This program is based on anticommunist principles contained in the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" and on the "proven" principles of the Christian trade union movement in Europe. Alas, we must note that the workers class in Africa, Asia and South America is not yet sufficiently class conscious and thus, the political activity of clericalism has inflicted relatively considerable damage to the movement of national liberation. Nevertheless, that does not imply that the revolutionary process in those parts of the world has stopped. Its anti-imperialist and socialist essence is occasionally reflected even in the form of religion and in the participation of the rank-and-file clergymen. However, the Vatican completely rejects this form of social action of the working people and of "left-wing Christianity." During his trip to South America John Paul II instructed the priests to avoid any political activity and to devote themselves exclusively to spiritual service.

The "dialogue" with the workers, communists and atheists, developed by the Vatican in the framework of the *aggiornamento*, was supposed to return the lost confidence of the working people to the church and to clericalism. Ideologically it drew from its ample experience of collaboration of clericalism with reformism, opportunism and revisionism in the workers movement of the 19th and 20th century. A relatively new trait of "dialogue cooperation" is that after World War II the reformist political parties officially renounced Marxism even where it concerns their world view and in the "dialogue" they integrated the Christian world view and Catholic social teachings into their program for transforming capitalism into "democratic socialism," as the notorious Godesberg Program envisages.

In the post-council period, the revisionists also adopted the objectives which the Vatican had pursued in the "dialogue." From classless and idealistic positions they analyzed religion which was presented in the program of *aggiornamento* as progressive, humanitarian and, thus, compatible with the communist movement.

R. Garaudy, E. Fischer, N. Machovec and others confused the communists and workers and deprived them of their basic asset -- their revolutionary materialistic world view. The reformists and theologizing revisionists turned into

heralds of clericalism which was compelled by the crisis of Christianity and by the defeat of vulgar clericalist anticommunism to alter its form, to become more subtle, shrewd, sophisticated and up-to-date, however, it failed to change its reactionary nature.

The program aimed at ideological and conceptual disarming of the working class in the countries of the world socialist system is supposed to lead to the fulfillment of an old anticommunist dream of world clericalism -- liquidation of socialism. This program bases its ideology on an eclectic combination of Catholic social teachings with reformism and theologizing revisionism. All clericalist and lay anticommunist centers are participating in the implementation of this program. The attempt to re-Christianize the working class in socialist states and to restore clericalism in the socialist political system represents a certain climax and, at the same time, also an explicit expression of the true ideological and political interests of clericalism as regards the working class.

Socialism in the Polish People's Republic was chosen as the first victim of clericalist anticommunism. Long before the founding of the so-called Solidarity, clericalist centers developed a systematic program aimed at political manipulation of believing workers, farmers and intelligentsia against socialism, particularly those belonging to the ranks of the young generation which has not experienced the class struggle and whose ideological education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism has been considerably neglected. The Catholic hierarchy in the Polish People's Republic, eminently supported by the Vatican and by clericalist emigration, organized religious associations for workers and youth and planned various activities in the church and outside of it, where it glorified the past and present position of the Catholic Church in Polish history. The leaders of the so-called Solidarity would not make a single relevant decision without previous consultations with the Polish episcopate and with the Vatican. Religious worship, prayers, clericalist slogans and religious symbolism accompanied all antisocialist activities organized by the so-called Solidarity.

We may find the philosophical and theological justification of the program for re-Christianization and clericalization of the working class in the latest encyclical, "Laborem Exercens," issued by John Paul II on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the anticommunist encyclical "Rerum Novarum." In his encyclical, the pope underscores and outlines the objectives of re-Christianization of the workers movement at present. He openly adopted the anticommunist spirit of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" and unequivocally demands that the trade unions abandon their class aspirations and leave workers political parties. Advocating political independence of trade unions in accordance with the objectives of the program of the so-called Solidarity, he alleges that as employer the socialist state is no different from capitalism or, as the case may be, monopoly. The struggle of the working class at this stage of the crisis of capitalism is unusually difficult and the pope intends to subordinate it to anticommunist objectives of the bankrupt and discredited campaign for "human rights."

As often in history, with the manipulation of the so-called Solidarity in the Polish People's Republic it is obvious that clericalism is willing to sacrifice everything in order to achieve its political goals. By the encyclical "Laborem Exercens," the Vatican unambiguously chose the side of capitalism and anticommunism.



## DECLINING CHANCES FOR WOULD-BE LAWYERS, DOCTORS

AU161328 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Nov 82 p 4

[Jaroslav Mesko article: "What To Study—What To Become?"]

[Summary] In applying for college education, both students and their parents should take into account the social interest and social needs. They should also realize that certain professions have gradually become satiated with experts and that it was only with difficulty that the philosophy students, physicians, lawyers and economists who graduated in the 1981-82 academic year found jobs according to their ideas and near their places of residence. Meanwhile, owing to the increased attention being paid to this problem, all those who graduated in 1981-82 have been employed, except for some 800 students who did not pass their final exams within the set deadlines.

Next year, "according to the set quota, 53.3 percent of all accepted applications will be for technical colleges; 25.2 percent for universities; 10.3 percent for agricultural colleges; 10.48 percent for advanced schools of economics; and 0.72 percent for arts colleges. Compared with the current academic year, the number of those accepted for all three medical schools in Slovakia will decline from 424 to 356; the number of newly enrolled students of law schools from 248 to 180 and so forth. Whereas the engineering departments of the Bratislava, Kosice and Zilina colleges will accept 20.8 percent of the total number of newly enrolled students and the electrotechnical departments more than 11 percent, the three medical schools will accept only 2.73 percent and the law schools 1.87 percent of the total number of new students."

These figures, as well as the outcome of the application procedures for the current academic year, should prompt the applicants to think realistically. This year, out of 100 applicants for enrollment at technical colleges, 85 were accepted. The corresponding number for advanced schools of economics was 44; for universities 42; for medical schools only 30; for law schools only 26 and for arts colleges only 16. As regards some fields of study, such as biology, psychology or sociology, only 1 in 10 applicants was accepted.

Those applying for technical colleges will have the best chances to receive a college education. Next year, the advanced school of technology in Kosice will accept 2,065 applicants; the Slovak Advanced Technical School in Bratislava will accept 855 students for its engineering department, 700 students

for its construction department, 680 students for its electrotechnical department, 510 students for its chemical technology department and 70 students for its school of architecture. The advanced school of transportation and communications in Zilina will accept 1,280 applicants; the advanced school of economics in Bratislava 1,230; the advanced school of agriculture in Nitra 840; and the advanced school of forestry and lumber in Zvolen 370.

As far as the further education of the 14- and 15-year-olds is concerned, more than 62 percent of them should be trained for workers' professions, mostly in secondary vocational training institutions; some 13 percent of them should attend the gymnasium; about 18 percent secondary professional schools and roughly 2.5 percent secondary medical schools.

CSO: 2400/83

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BORDER TROOP COMMANDER SPEAKS ON BORDER TROOP DAY

DW021233 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Interview with Lt Gen Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, GDR deputy minister for national defense and chief of the GDR border troops; by Joachim Stenzl; date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade lieutenant general, what is the balance sheet with which the border troops are proceeding into the 1982-83 training year?

[Answer] Your question, Comrade Stenzl, actually points to our position on anniversaries and days of honor. Comrade Thaelmann once said that for communists anniversaries are not only days of commemoration but are much rather guidelines for the class struggle and directives for actions to be taken. This applies today just as it did back then.

On our day of honor, which we observe together with the citizens of our country and with our friends and fighting comrades, we therefore take stock and measure the results of our work by the requirements of our time. On this day we also stake out the course ahead.

As far as the past year's results are concerned the border troops of our republic demonstrated a high level of readiness for action in political and military training and in guarding our borders. In this area they can point to good results. Thus our balance sheet is part of our republic's successful progress in the fulfillment of the 10th SED Congress decisions, and it holds a worthy position in the intensive work and the manifold initiatives of our country's working people in the continuation of our party's tested policy for the well-being of our people and for safeguarding peace.

On behalf of all border troops, I would like to say that we are very proud that at the fifth meeting of our party's Central Committee a few days ago, the party leadership highly assessed the responsible service of the GDR border troops. At the same time, however, this means a commitment for us border troops to contribute in the future as well to protecting what our working people are creating in industry and agriculture through diligent work.

It is generally known, and this point was also stressed [at the SED Central Committee meeting], that our republic has always placed great importance on

the inviolability of borders in Europe, and in the long run nobody can close his eyes to the fact that peace in Europe will be secure only if, the borders that emerged as a result of World War II and during the postwar developments, are respected in accordance with treaties concluded and if calm and order prevail along them.

This is the goal to which our border troops are committed, and to this end they perform their soldierly duties. I believe I can say that in so doing they contribute to the preservation of peace. This is and remains the decisive factor; this is the ultimate objective, and this also is the purpose of the many good and outstanding competition results in the troop components and units and at border troop installations.

It goes without saying--and everyone is aware of this--that it is not just our border soldiers who guarantee secure borders. After all, peace policy in a socialist state is national policy. This applies to everyone, and all the people participate in this.

[Question] It is generally known, comrade lieutenant general, that the GDR border troops maintain a very cordial and trusting relationship with the people along the border. Why are we hearing and reading more about this now than at other times?

[Answer] There are several reasons for this. As you know, this spring the GDR people's chamber adopted the border law. This law is based on the tested principle that the traditional and trusting cooperation of all party organizations and state and social forces operating in the border area, and thus the people's cooperation with the border troops, constitutes the guarantee for secure borders. Another reason is the fact that for 30 years now, that is, since August 1952, voluntary helpers of the border troops have been supporting us to secure the state border. Their selfless work, often outside their working hours and under all sorts of weather conditions, reflects in a very special way the political-moral unity of the people and the armed forces in socialism. I think this may be quite justly said.

This solid unity between the border population and the border troops is increasingly proving to be an important precondition for guaranteeing calm and order along the state border and for making it possible to protect the border successfully under all conditions. We border troops greatly appreciate the comradely relationship with the border population and the existence of tested border-helper collectives. We are becoming proud of hearing the inhabitants of the border REA speak of us as their border troopers.

We feel the sympathy and support of the border population every day, and we feel at home in the border towns, too. This allows the border troops to repeatedly experience the profound political and moral meaning of their class mandate, and this also means for them a secure hinterland, solidarity, comradeship and unity with the homeland and its people.

For this reason I would like to use this interview to thank with special cordiality on behalf of our republic border troops the comrades and friends who are working to reliably secure the borders of our homeland and who support us in any way. I express cordial thanks to the citizens in urban and rural areas, to the family members and colleagues of our border soldiers, but especially to the people of the border area, and this year in particular to the many voluntary helpers of our border troops.

CSO: 2300/78

NEED FOR COMPETENT YOUTH ORGANIZATION 'PROPAGANDISTS' UNDERLINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 168, 20 Oct 82 p 2

/Report from Berlin: "Indifference Toward Political Education of Free German Youth (FDJ)." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ A leading FDJ functionary has complained about many FDJ member's apathy in the course of politico-ideological instruction sessions carried on by the GDR youth federation. According to him undisciplined behavior at instruction courses was by no means rare, some of the young people not even bothering to attend. The official admitted that this indifference was largely due to the boring nature of the instruction. Often the interests of the young as well as topical political issues were neglected. Moreover, some of the young people were not willing to sacrifice their leisure to the study of ideological texts. (DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG No 42, 1982).

FDJ Functionary's Critique

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 29 No 42, 22 Oct 82 p 1

/Lead article by Wolfgang Heptner, chief, School-Youth Department, FDJ Central Council: "On the Occasion of the 1982-83 FDJ Study Year: A Compass for Life"/

/Text/ In early November group study sessions on the life and struggles of Marx and Engels, on Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economics will begin at secondary schools and in the socialist youth federation generally. This is an effective method for systematically familiarizing FDJ members with the basic issues of Marxism-Leninism. Ever since the new study groups were introduced, we have been aware that Marxism-Leninism is a science and, as such, needs to be thoroughly studied. All of this challenges group leaders and members.

Experience has taught us that FDJ members like to participate in the study year if the propagandist is able to link the basic issues of Marxism-Leninism with topical political problems, if questions from students are taken seriously and discussed, if the propagandist knows by persuasive arguments, indeed by his entire personality, to arouse the enthusiasm of FDJ members.



Even greater efforts will be needed to recruit as propagandists those comrades who have the appropriate ability and experience. On the other hand many FDJ groups--from leaders down--need a more conscious and committed attitude to studies. Indifference and the undisciplined behavior of some friends or failure to attend the group indicate that our political work will have to be better and more effective.

The FDJ leadership is primarily responsible for the preparation and conduct of the FDJ study year. Obviously here as in other matters it requires the support of comrades and colleagues at the schools. However, it is definitely up to the leadership regularly to appraise the work of the groups and conscientious home studies, to come to a decision about a group category and be concerned with the propagandists.

Our leadership organization must devote more consistent attention to the actual reading of the instruction material, the actual viewing of the television series. It is also the leaders' right to talk with the propagandists about progress in the group and suggest activities and initiatives for the FDJ group as a whole. It has proved to be very useful for party leaders regularly to consult with the FDJ leadership organizations and propagandists as to the progress achieved in the study year.

Of course I have not enough space to deal in detail with all methods employed in the FDJ study year, such as youth forums or the propagandist FDJ event. We do, though, have a very useful way of finding out how an FDJ actually meets one of the most important requirements of our statute, the study of Marxism-Leninism: The discussions on the acquisition of the badge "for sound knowledge." Let us not confine them to any particular season nor to the aftermath of study group sessions and conduct them, in honor of Marx and to our profit, emphasize them following the study of the "Communist Manifesto."

At the same time let us profit from the benefits offered us by the publication of the Marx-Engels biography and the "Geschichte der FDJ? /History of the FDJ/.

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CSO: 2300/68

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOLDIER RELATES BASIC SERVICE EXPERIENCES

East Berlin AR--ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 2 Aug 82) pp 6-11

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "My 18 Months"--Pfc Andreas Blumenthal from the Hans Beimler Motorized Rifle Regiment Talks about his Basic Service; a Mason by Trade, residing on Neuruppiner Seestrasse, he Served in This Unit From November 1980 to April 1982]

[Text] Induction

I was called up at age 17. It was determined that I would be a pioneer. Why not, I thought. After all, you are a construction worker, and that would be the right sphere of activity for you. And so I didn't give the army any further thought. My buddies were called up when they were 20 or 21 years old. So I told myself that there was still time for me. I was not even startled by an induction test in September. It was only when the green card notifying me of my induction in November arrived that I was surprised. I had not expected that I would become a soldier so soon. But then I said to myself: the sooner, the better. You are now still capable of adjusting to this. Later, perhaps, if you are married and have children it could be more difficult. And I felt a little proud of the fact that I would be part of it all at just 18 years of age, while I was still so young.

A new phase in my life is beginning, I said to myself, and I made up my mind to accomplish something and to learn a lot. I have a low opinion of those who intend simply to get through those 18 months in a passive manner. That is tantamount to wasted time and makes no sense. After all, one makes things only more difficult for oneself with this kind of an attitude.

To be sure, I did have some mixed feelings. I am a sociable person, and I get along well with everybody. I kept asking myself whether it would be that way in the army. I had indeed heard about bad practices and of stupid pranks which many an "old" soldier indulges in with new personnel. I was not afraid of discipline, order, and cleanliness requirements, because I had learned in the GST [Society for Sport and Technology] how to work in accordance with strict schedules and how to subordinate myself. I knew that in the armed forces one cannot always do just what one would like to do and that one cannot always be one's own master. I was anxious to find out to



tasks and to what type of vehicle I would be assigned. On the way from the railway station to the barracks, I really had a prickly sensation in my stomach!

### Throw In the Towel?

"You will become an SPW [armored personnel carrier driver!] "I shall never forget this sentence spoken by an officer as he pointed at me. Along with others who had arrived some hours earlier, I now was sitting in a large room, still dressed in civilian clothes. I was beginning to feel uncomfortable. I did not know much about technical equipment. And when, at the weapons exhibit on the following day I took a look inside one of those armed personnel carriers, I still did not feel any better about it and I asked myself: Will I be expected to drive this thing?

To be sure, I did have a driver's permit, and that certainly must have been the basis for this decision. But what about the way in which I acquired this permit? When I was an apprentice in the industrial construction operations of the East Potsdam VEB BMK [state-owned building and assembly combine] and a member of the GST, I was put inside a W 50. A driving instructor explained a few things to me concerning the engine and the gear-shifts, then I drove this way and that way through Potsdam for a few hours, and after a week I received my driver's permit. I was hardly taught any theory or given any driving practice.

During the initial days I was vexed by such thoughts as whether it would not be better to go to the company chief and to tell him about the manner in which I had acquired my driver's permit. But I decided not to do it. I told myself that I had now been given an assignment which I had to carry out. After all, I told myself, it can do no harm to learn something new and to pursue an objective. Throwing in the towel was out of the question.

### Hurrah, I'm a Driver!

The 4 weeks of basic training were followed by 4 weeks of specialized training. Man, did I have some problems at first! These did not occur so much in the theoretical area, because in the latter sphere the work was done in a precise and methodical manner. But, the practical aspects of this work! I had trouble with the various engine parts, and I forgot a lot. My feelings were hurt whenever soldiers who were skilled mechanics pushed me aside, saying "Let me get at this, you don't know the first thing about it." Of course, they were right. I had to learn more about it. However, I was too tired in the evenings to look up any specialized technical books. And again I toyed with the idea of going to the company chief and to let him know that my driver's permit was not worth much and that I was not fit to be a driver. But every time I discarded the idea, saying to myself, "you've started something--now finish it!" This is a principle which I had already followed in my civilian life.

We were nine men in our room: eight who were to become drivers and one who was in his first service half-year and was already a driver. This man was

private Laabs. I had detailed discussions with him and described my problems to him. He encouraged me, showed me many things and called my attention to skilled motor vehicle drivers who also had their initial difficulties with the armored personnel carriers. It was Laabs who restored my strength and who straightened me out again, saying, "With will power you will succeed."

And things did go forward. I was given a "Good" rating for my first driving test. My self-confidence was enhanced. It was my first experience of success in the army. And later, when I also passed my first test on a difficult obstacle course with good results and was given the special license for driving an armed personnel carrier, my heart shouted jubilantly: "Hurrah, now you are an SPW driver!"

To be sure, I had initially imagined that driving this motor vehicle would be much more complicated. However, it is easy to steer the SPW with its hydraulic system. It can practically be done with one finger, and it isn't so bumpy when going through the terrain. When it is ready for action, when both engines are running evenly, when the gear-shift devices are in good order, and when there is the proper oil pressure, much can be done with it in the terrain.

#### Substitute Work

Whereas after the first half-year all my comrades were transferred to other units, I remained in my initial company. As a substitute driving instructor, I was now to assist in teaching new personnel the basics concerning the SPW.

In July I was ordered to join the 5th Company for 2 weeks. A regimental exercise was about to be carried out and Group 1 in the 2d Platoon had no SPW driver. I was ordered to help out and join an unfamiliar collective. I felt bitter about this because I wanted to get away on furlough. My last furlough was in May. I only had 1 hour's time for taking over the unfamiliar vehicle. I resolved to return it safely and bring no discredit upon me or the group.

My initial bitterness soon vanished. The exercise, which actually was my first, inspired me with its manifold activities. I learned many new things: driving in the course of an attack, driving through a lane, carrying out a deployment, utilizing uneven terrain and so forth. I came to understand the fact that one must not be just a driver, but a combat driver, that one's thinking must be tactically oriented, and that one must always act in the interests of one's own unit. It was great fun and a change from the at times monotonous barracks service. Beaming with joy I returned to my quarters and I had much to talk about.

#### Together, But How?

The greatest gain derived by me in the course of this exercise was the fact that I came to know a real collective. Group 1 received me like a trusted friend and I was immediately and fully accepted. During breaks in

combat activities we had exhaustive discussions. I was astonished at all the topics which were discussed. And all this support given one another! Each and everyone tried to make things easy for the other fellow. What morale!

I had never before experienced anything like this. In my old quarters there was a lot of quarreling, everyone looked out for himself, and one hardly felt any community spirit. In the second half-year I made efforts to create something constructive with the young soldiers. But mostly they did not listen and became arrogant, at times making such remarks as, "He used to have his difficulties too. He has no business talking like that." It was too bad that we were unable to find our way to mutual understanding. It would have been a better life for everyone concerned.

It pleased me all the more that I had then come into a good collective in the last half-year of my service. For as of December I was transferred to the 3d Company headquarters personnel as the driver of the command vehicle. We understood each other perfectly. Everyone helped with the work, reached for the broom to sweep the room and carried the trash pail downstairs without being asked. Consideration was shown to whoever happened to be under stress. There was no such thing as vilifying anybody.

The experiences which I have gathered are these: One must acquire the ability to adapt oneself to anyone. Above all, one must have respect for one another, one must be able to communicate on both personal and service levels, and there must also be some joking one another now and then. I have noticed that this way things will go more smoothly in the service. In army life, difficulties arise often enough. So who needs any squabbles on top of that?

#### Frustration

In the summer of 1981 we received new SPW. They incorporate some technical changes. On the old vehicles, the carburetor valve is on the upper part of the engine. On the new vehicles, it is located in the lower part of the engine. Thus it is difficult to see it and one must rather feel one's way toward it when trying to locate it. If this valve--regardless of whether it is part of the old or the new engines--is not closed, it is possible for fuel to run out and to reach the hot engine. And if that happens, an explosion might occur!

Such a mistake happened to me. I was just about to drive the armed personnel carrier from the parking area into the hall, when someone shouted: "There is fuel running out of there!" It was still possible to shut the valve and avoid further damage. There was a lot of excitement. I was given a severe reprimand. It was the only punishment I received in the course of my army career. It was justified, because it was my fault and I was aware of the consequences. I felt like creeping out of sight, that's how ashamed I was. I slept badly for several nights after this happened. Almost everyone lit into me. They said to me "And you want to be an instructor?" It took days for me to get over my faulty work performance. I brooded over it a lot and

expected to be relieved of my duties as a driver. That would have been the worst punishment of all for me and it would have caused me much pain. Fortunately it did not happen.

I needed time to come to terms with myself. Safety above everything--that is what I had learned. It is better to take another look or two instead of just assuming that everything is in order, even at the cost of an occasional dressing down by a time-conscious superior who feels that things are getting done too slowly. I now check things out more carefully because, after all, it is I who is responsible.

#### This Kind and that Kind of Superiors

I was pleased by the fact that after this incident my superiors did not condemn me, but gave me a chance to prove my mettle. My punishment was canceled in November.

I have always gotten along well with my superiors, especially with the officers. I trusted them and gradually found my way to them on occasions when I did not know just what to do next. I had noticed quickly that one can talk to them openly and without any restraint. And, although I respect the various service ranks and have acted in accordance with the service regulations--I was not so much aware of the rank insignia on their epaulettes as I was of the man himself, the person with experience. I can only recommend such an approach to everyone. The officers, too, want to get to know the problems of their comrades, for what good is a superior who does not know how things are going with his soldiers?

Of course, character attributes are important. Each officer has a different style. I had come to know two company chiefs. In the initial period I had Lieutenant Vorpahl. This one acted strictly in line with the regulations, but saw too little of the soldiers and did not occupy himself sufficient with them. But Captain Broemer, under whom I served in the last half-year period, was different. To be sure, he also takes his tasks very seriously, but he also recognizes the capabilities of the individual soldiers and furthers them. He demanded that all of us carry out our tasks in an orderly fashion, but he also stood up for all concerns of the individual soldiers, even if this had to be done at the senior staff level. The company stood behind him. Of course, there also were occasions when some harsh words were spoken, but afterward he offered words of encouragement again, and now and then he also patted a soldier on the back.

#### The Mere Act of Driving Is not Enough

I have driven to SPW some 2,000 to 3,000 kilometers. I participated in three exercises. My vehicle never broke down. One must have confidence in it, but one also must do things for it. One must take care of it, check it over meticulously, pay attention to how it sounds, and be able to distinguish the wrong noises from the right ones. After all, there is no fun at all in sitting in a vehicle the various components of which play different tunes and in continuously having to think "I hope they will make it."



I had become part of my vehicle, and I am glad that I have accomplished what I had intended to do at the outset. For me, one of the finest commendations was the one given to me on 1 March of this year, when I received from my battalion commander a document which said "In Gratitude for Demonstrated Achievements as an SPW Driver."

I am proud of having served with the motorized riflemen. I have learned to appreciate them. They constitute the most traditional service branch, the basis of our army. They are the decisive troop units in combat. The manysidedness of their weapons and technical equipment is impressive.

The fact that I am chattering here so much about me as an SPW driver does not mean that other training subjects had played a less important part for me. Not at all. Sports, for instance--or "military body building," as it is called in the army--are indispensable. I experienced that in my own case. I had thought that the 5 kilometers of going to my place of work on my bicycle and the physical exercise I was getting in connection with my work at the construction site were enough. But when, initially, I was only able to run the 3,000 meter distance in a quarter hour and when other, older, soldiers ran right past me, that gave me some food for thought. I trained diligently and half a year later I had reduced the time to 10.4 minutes. I would really recommend to many a young man to make it a frequent practice to get off his motorcycle and to do some running or to lubricate his bicycle chain and engage in some vigorous pedaling. It will make it easier for him in the army. In this connection, I remember our Private Koehler. He was somewhat corpulent. Good gracious, what drudgery, what trouble, and what anxieties he had to go through in order to meet the required norms!

#### The Bare Leave Uniform

In the first service half-year, our superiors called our attention to the "Best Performance" badge. They said that every soldier should make efforts to acquire it. I familiarized myself with the pertinent conditions and came to the following conclusion: "They are not all that difficult, you can handle that. After all, one must have some goal which one seeks to achieve." So I set this goal for myself. And, besides: My leave uniform looks so bare! I acquired the "Best Performance" title in my first and third service half-years. Of course, in the second half-year I had botched it all up myself.

It is my opinion that it would be quite all right if the conditions for acquiring the badge were to be made somewhat more difficult. In my unit, there unfortunately was a good deal of playing the numbers game in connection with the "Best Performance" title and some soldiers were given the title when they did not deserve it. It hurt when one could occasionally hear someone say "they really threw the badge at me." This is an insult to those who struggled hard and honestly to acquire it.

But that should not keep any good comrade from trying to acquire it. I would advise him not to ease off even in the face of occasional reverses. One mistake alone is not decisive. That can be straightened out. What counts

is what one does in order to get back up to the top again. And everyone should give some thought to what can be organized differently in the service.

Superiors will always appreciate a soldier who thinks along with them.

#### FDJ Work on Orders?

Of course, training constitutes only one-half of a soldier's life. His free time is also part of it. Spending it in a sensible manner is also important. I have a low opinion of spending it by stupidly flopping around on one's bed. On one occasion when I raised this topic at the FDJ meeting I was promptly elected to the FDJ management board. They made me a deputy secretary. Now let's see what you can do, I said to myself.

We gathered recommendations from the soldiers and involved many of them in the work, even though some of them initially grumbled and said that nothing would come of it and that everything would have to be done on orders anyway. We organized wonderful Christmas and New Year's festivities in which all participated. The officers were astonished at what we had brought about. Our FDJ management also organized record-playing and skat and rummy evening sessions, air-rifle shooting contests, and sports competitions. I have experienced the following: There are two preconditions for free-time work. The ideas must flow from the ranks of the soldiers, the latter must be participants, and their superiors must support them. They cannot do it just by themselves.

Finally, I had yet another social function, which was that of being a member of the management board of the SED basic organization in our battalion. Because I stand up for my country and because I have a firm belief in socialism, I became a party member in September of 1981. Soon after that I became a member of the management board--I, a private among older comrades! I soon had overcome my shyness, because I was treated as an equal among equals and I was aware of the confidence placed in me, and that gave me strength. It was interesting work and I was in a position to participate in the making of decisions concerning interesting matters and to learn a great deal.

#### I Will Be True to You

I believe that a service tour in the army which is to run a smooth course also includes love. In this respect, too, the 1½ years have given me much in the sphere of my private life and have contributed a good deal to the maturing of myself and my girl friend, although this was not made easy for us at all. How often did I have to send a telegram back home advising that I could not come home and that my leave had been canceled.

At the time I was ordered to join the 3d Company because of the exercise, I had to forgo my furlough. I was definitely to get it upon my return, but then it was again others who went on leave, anyway. This went on up until September. Almost 5 months! Four times, five times my girl waited

in vain in front of the barracks gate, because my leave did not materialize. Forty-five kilometers she had traveled on the train, had spent money, and all was for nothing. Those were disappointing hours for her.

Nevertheless, she never gave up, she stuck by me, and she never thought of turning to another man. I am proud of my girl. We had discussed it all before my military service and we knew about the privations to be endured. What a pity that not all girls think that way. On many an occasion I have experienced such trouble in my company. It is very bitter to take.

#### Advice from Someone with Experience

For me, these 18 months do not at all constitute any lost time. I have become wiser and more sure of myself. One now sees many things differently and more clearly, and one can judge things more thoroughly. It is especially my experiences in dealing with people which will benefit me greatly in civilian life.

And if I may make a few recommendations to future soldiers, then let it be the following: First, get a clear idea of why and for whom you are in the army. Then go after your objective with all your strength. Everyone will at first experience difficulties. He should, however, not be shy about seeking the confidence of his superiors as quickly as possible. They can help as soon as problems arise, even if at some other times some harsh words are spoken occasionally.

In no case should a soldier come with the intention of just getting his 1½ years over with. That can become a very long and unpleasant experience, because he will clash with people everywhere, and he will have trouble, senseless trouble. He will get nothing out of it and will become dissatisfied even with himself.

How are things going with me now? Well, for the time being I am still active in construction work and then, beginning this fall, I will start my college education in Magdeburg. My objective is to become a certified building construction engineer.

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CSO: 2300/51

HARASZTI INTERVIEWS KENEDI ON TRAVAILS OF DISSIDENTS, SOCIOLOGISTS

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 4, 1982 pp 11-14

[Article by Miklos Harszti: "The Mornings of a Bell-Wether"]

[Text] Miklos Harszti, the writer of "Darabber" [Piecework] converses with Janos Kenedi, the author of "Yours Is the Country, You Are Building for Yourself...." We hardly need to introduce the participants in the dialogue to the readers of IRODALMI UJSAG: We published the abridged minutes of Haraszti's Budapest legal proceedings in our January-February 1974 issue; on the first page of our July-August 1979 issue we published his article "The Hungarian Miracle"; and we gave a detailed review of Kenedi's book in our No 2, 1982 issue.

The following text was originally prepared for L'ALTERNATIVE, the periodical of the French publisher Francois Maspero. The IRODALMI UJSAG is all the more happy to publish it because it gives a more precise and faithful insight than any previous article or document into the life of Hungary's democratic opposition, even more broadly into the situation of the literary and scientific world of present-day Hungary, and the relation between intellect and power.

The opening sentences of the dialogue refer to British press reaction to Kenedi's novel. Some of the British critics misunderstood a book that was written in the first person--they thought that the writer and his "hero," the clever, sharp-witted but not entirely sympathetic house builder--were one and the same. Haraszti: Let's go Jancsi, let's start with the British critics! From the fine TIMES Literary Supplement all the way to the socialist NEW SOCIETY, the critics of your book agreed that among Hungarian sociologists you are not only a "white man" (feher ember) who tore the veil from the "black society" (fekete tarsadalom), but you are also a bright intellect: you profit lavishly from your knowledge of the second economy. You greet Solidarity from the window of your Wonder Palace. In the second economy you outwit the state and in the second publication system (masodik nyilvanossag) you add moral capital to it. In short, you are a centaur like the ideal of the hero in "Yours Is the Country...": from the trunk upward a civil rights skirmisher, but your hooves are for beating out illegal paths, and you make your pile. Isn't it so?

Kenedi: And how! The X-ray eyed critic of the NEW SOCIETY saw so well through my concealed talent that he wrote: "Well, if they would return his

confiscated passport, he would become a technical expert like his father, and he could apply for all the new positions advertised by the Greater London Council. He could be, for example, chairman of the Business Council of Greater London with 25,000 pounds pay, or the director of commission agents for 27,00 pounds." Since this appeared I am waiting for the BM [Ministry of Interior] to evaluate the British criticism of my book, send my passport by courier, and at the airport for Janos Fekete, the deputy president of the Hungarian National Bank, to wish me godspeed, whispering as he embraced me that he hopes that I will at least give something to my old homeland when I am in a new position. But it exceeds my most daring flights of imagination to expect that a critic may receive me at Heathrow who can differentiate the writer of the book from the hero.... Turn off the taperecorder a moment, Miki, the telephone is ringing, I'll be right back.

Haraszti: What has made your face purple?

Kenedi: Nothing. It is a usual daily rite. Let us continue with the British criticisms, because there is still something else isn't there, the forepart of the centaur, to be sure, is about what a revolutionary I am, my pockets stuffed with Molotov cocktails....

Haraszti: I can see that something happened on the telephone. It was not Janos Fekete....

Kenedi: I tell you, Miki, nothing, the usual everyday thing.

Haraszti: What is for you the usual everyday thing?

Kenedi: Please I can tell you about it if you are not interested in the relationship of literary criticism and reality. An administrator from one of the social science institutes advised me that despite that we agreed I should not be the one to return the codified questionnaire but rather my wife because she was a linguist who before they removed her from her position often went in official capacity to the institute, and would be less conspicuous than if I were to walk along the hall where I am forbidden to go. The institute is full of "inspectors," the staff does not believe that they are prying into accounting but are policemen sniffing after blacks [dissidents hired at low pay to collect data for a work appearing in someone else's name]. It is not certain, said the administrator, that this will reassure me or you on the telephone, but the research chief, from whom I received the job on the sly, is afraid. He took a big risk when he assigned me the codification work.

Haraszti: What did you codify?

Kenedi: Here is the dangerous questionnaire and the coding instructions under your nose. Look at it.

Haraszti: I see the questions are exciting. "Who tells the children their bedtime story? Their father--1: Their mother--2: Their grandparents--3: Brothers or sisters--4. radio story--5: TV story--6: Other--7: and then what kind of toy did Father Winter bring? Teddy bear, sleeping doll--1: Roller skates, bicycle--2: Logic toy--3:...." Is this what caused your research chief to excrete [euphemism]?



Kenedi: This is not exactly the point. The subject matter of the research is incidental. The main point is that bell-wethers like you and me must be kept away from the institute--if by chance you, too, make a living from writing small figures into a square grid--and this joker still gives me work out of the goodness of his heart, but he wants to be cautious. He is protecting his own position also, and of course he also gives work, if there is any, to other friends of ours who are banned. I say, Miki, let us drop this, it is an everyday matter, let us continue with the interview, ease my path, please, to immortality, for time is passing, I must finish the codification in order that my wife might take the materials in this afternoon.

Haraszti: Do not be in such haste to climb Olympus! It will wait. But what if it interests the readers how a bell-wether comes under an employment ban. Let us now for once talk like black to black. Well, what does it mean that you are banned from the institute? Is your "wanted" picture nailed on the gate?

Kenedi: Sure! I have good relations with the gate keeper because I always greet him unlike the scientific researchers who have a position and who stare into the clouds above the heads of the servants. Good, I'll give you an example. Last year--in another research institute--the department chief called one of my friends into his office from whom I regularly received codification jobs--of course, always in someone else's name--that is, as a black--and he asked the following of him: "Peti, now we are at the finish. We have finally come to where the entire department is to work on a real project--for 5 years we have been (brusztolunk). Isn't it suspicious to you that X, the director's confidant is always hanging around the department?" My friend opened wide his eyes and shrugged his shoulders, and finally replied that X, too, is a worker in the institute and wanted to chase around one of the young researchers. "Ahhh," said the department chief with a wave of his hand, and he drew his chair nearer to my friend and whispered: "The thing is that Kenedi comes to see you, and X has reported this to the director. The director has asked me twice already what kind of guarantee I can give him that word of the project will not get abroad, alluding obviously to you who are signer, and to your friend Kenedi. Peti, it is in our common interest that Kenedi should not visit the Institute, be so kind as to tell him this in a tactful way." At first my friend did not want to pass on the message, and clung to the position that the ban should be given in writing, but then the matter was settled more quietly because Peti visits the Rajk-shop<sup>1</sup> to buy samizdat for his superior, and thus one extortion could be used to limit the other. And this was a new turn in the game between the two of them, for the department chief defended Peti when in 1979 they wanted to fire him for signing the solidarity statement.<sup>2</sup> And it is true that the department chief is using his subordinate as a straw man (someone who lets his name be used for work performed

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1. The apartment of the younger Laszlo Rajk, where samizdat publications are obtainable.

2. The statement signed by 254 Hungarian intellectuals in the autumn of 1979 against the Prague condemnation of the leaders of the Charta 77 movement. The text appeared in a special edition of IRODALMI UJSAG, 4 November 1979.

by a dissident) when he wants to remain in the black in the second publication system, but Peti is protected at his work place precisely by the fact that his chief would not like to be known as a bad guy in that circle where they write the samizdat materials. In short, there are unwritten rules in the jungle of scientific life, even though these rules are primitive, but the rules cannot be broken by demanding in writing what is usually not put in writing. It would disturb the peaceful life of the tribes. Three tribes have a role, Miki, in this simple matter, but let us not go into anthropology, it would take us far afield, and now you only asked me why there is no use for written documentation.

Haraszti: Good, but for the sake of clarity would you at least interpret to civilized Europeans what are the three tribes?

Kenedi: They may be distinguished on the basis of three categories: critical opinion, work place, formal power. I belong to tribe one because I have only the first label. Peti belongs to tribe two for although he has the same critical opinion as myself he has a work place and also a little bit of formal power--he can give work. The department chief belongs to tribe three for he has greater formal power--naturally he also has a work place--but he also has a little bit in the way of critical opinion. Tribe three can ban someone with formal power, tribe two cannot; there is also contact between one and three on the basis of a common critical opinion category--it is clear from this how one might trace the other tribes and variations, but these do not have a role in the story where the only important thing is that these are three tribes that are very close to one another. Their territorial protectiveness, culture, habits of contact are similar, whereas at the poles of tribal society the customs of contact are different....

Haraszti: ...hunter, fisher, critical critic," something dawns on me from Marx....

Kenedi: Only here it is not a matter of the liquidation of work distribution as in prophesied communism, but of the liquidation of work partition in "existing socialism." Of course, this is light punishment only for tribe one, to which the closely related tribes react with little sympathy and a small feeling of threat. The rules for the customs of contact are determined by this peaceful condition until some kind of danger rears its head. The widening of the East European area of mobility started this kind of sense of danger among the most distant tribes. Among the others, the reputation of tribe one increased (for example, the Bibo Memorial Volume<sup>3</sup> was born from the looser relationships of one and two), but repression also grew. Not to an extent that they would have lifted the hunting ban on tribe one--that is, a state of war--but the changing forms of reaction showed an increase. Xenophobia increased--fear of anything which comes from abroad or goes abroad--increasingly deeper classes were liberated to infantilism--a mania for secrecy and secrets;

3. Prepared in memory of Istvan Bibo with the cooperation of 76 authors, the volume consists of almost 1,000 typewritten pages and is the most important publication of the Hungarian samizdat. (See IRODALMI UJSAG, July-October 1981 issue.)

whispering at the work place; concealment of information (undoubtedly a sign of the fact that he grasps hold of secrets, as power, whose balance with rational forces is deteriorating)--the magnifying of small things, and the minimizing of big things--magical fear of naming something; "if I do not say something, it does not exist," and vice versa "If I say it, a myth will arise," and so forth. And of course, they began to transgress the customs of contact with flighty and hysterical reactions. In the weeks during the Solidarity Congress, one of the scientific researchers lost his temper at an open meeting of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] Sociological Institute and charged the director (!): "Don't be surprised if the Polish revolution breaks out here, too, the Hungarian Bujaks and Walesas can come freely into the Institute and take the sociological information to the workers!" And then he demanded that my friend give an account in presence of the party (!) why I visit him in the work place. They could scarcely restrain the researcher, but still they sternly instructed my friend to tell me that I was an undesirable element. Elsewhere, too, the banning has taken place in this way, not in writing. And not only from the institutes. Do you know how many friends of mine they urged "to break contact with me?" I myself don't know exactly how many--I assume all of them did not tell me about it....

Haraszti: The others actually broke off...?

Kenedi: I don't think so. Rather they were embarrassed, ashamed of their chief, their work place, and of the fact that they were alive, Good Lord! Or they felt like a child whose hand has been rapped. Like the signers with whom "conversations were held." From whom they asked for promises and vows. Listen, old chap, at the time of the first Charta, the department chief invited my wife for a walk: "...promise you won't sign any more!" "No!" Mari replied because she took the matter seriously, and thereafter she was no more a linguist, a candidate-designate, and colleague. The perfect infantilism! Adult men, mothers, out of 254 as many as have a work place (or had at the time of the second signing)<sup>4</sup> sits with knees pressed together before Uncle Director and reply to three questions like in the folktale. And the "true" adults listen to the promises, and if these are not good enough they shake their heads. He says: "Set yourself apart from the letter of Bence-Kis-Kenedi,"<sup>5</sup> a 10-line text (which they do not dare read aloud in a room, but the person they badger must know it from VILAGUR, "Free Europe reported the news!" and it says that we three do not like to see others unjustly hurt. This, too, is infantilism--I acknowledge it to you, Miki--I show the serious side of my face only to the authorities--or do I make a mistake? And this

4. The 1979 protest against the Prague sentences, referred to in footnote 2 above, was in two forms: some of the 254 signers addressed the collective letter to the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and others to Janos Kadar.

5. At the time of the 1979 protest movement Gyorgy Bence and Janos Kis, philosopher, and Janos Kenedi wrote an open letter to the 1977 signers of the Czechoslovak Charta assuring them of their solidarity (IRODALMI UJSAG published the open letter in a special edition on 4 November 1979).

solidarity announcement was a very serious matter! I myself do not know because it is the characteristic of this neoprimitivism that it leads to a full change of values. Do you think that the opposition did not adapt itself to infantilism? Tell me, pet, where did we meet the last time?

Haraszti: At a house party.

Kenedi: And before that?

Haraszti: At a house party.

Kenedi: Well now, as 35-40 year-old men we are living our second childhood, rock and rolling at house parties, instead of pondering over social programs, if it is for this reason that we are bell-wethers! But for years this is the first time we are talking about serious matters. But even now we are not talking because you came here at 8 o'clock, we exchanged a pair of jeans and a pullover, and we sat down to prepare an interview for Monsieur Maspero, and then the telephone rang, we lost our seriousness, you ran off to see your little daughter saying you would be back by noon, and since then I am writing the answers and questions for you, so that by the time you return, it will be ready, because at least I try to take my own book seriously, if I cannot do anything else with my everyday events. Be ready for it if you are curious about my days: you will hear about the social manifestation forms of neoprimitivism and infantilism whether we are talking about me or my environment. Try to transmit this to the French readers!

Haraszti: In this way the task will be more difficult since even the Hungarian concepts will have to be transformed in order that they may adjust to this reality. Therefore, a black list (fekete lista) no longer exists against the writers who are reduced to black status (lefekeztetett)--only a consultation list. Black is banned from the palette of scientific and cultural policy. You gave a consultation--colored pullover for these red jeans. Red still exists....

Kenedi: For a tail at the end of an article....

Haraszti: You said something, perhaps this neoprimitivism started when it became the general practice in publications to permit differences from official views, if that is why there is a red tail at the end of an article.

Kenedi: Why? In your area of interest, at the censor, doesn't the consultation list operate in place of the black list like the "conversations" that occur after signings?

Haraszti: But actually with the same infantilism. In the editor's office the consultation list means that if you turn in an article, the chief editor must first consult with the party-center or the information chief. They may perhaps say: please go ahead and consult. And then they will consult with you. Will you agree not to publish abroad any more? If so, they will again consult with their chiefs about why you have written and whether it can be published like this.



Kenedi: At the scientific institutes, too, this is how they buy and sell the soul of the scientific workman (codifier, interviewer) except that while the haggling violates the freedom of opinion and speech, in the scientific work places it also affects the right to work.

Haraszti: It is possible in the editorial offices to defend against this as against lists as shown by the story of Csalog,<sup>6</sup> but how are you making out at the scientific institutes?

Kenedi: Csalog?

Haraszti: He took an article to KRITIKA and presented it as was his usual custom. Pandi,<sup>7</sup> who respects his writings, blushed. "Let's go in here," he said to Csalog, drawing him to an empty office. "The situation is this: We have a consultation list. I can publish your writings only if you do not publish any more in MAGYAR FUZETEK. Do you promise?" "No," replied Csalog. "No?" "No!" "Have you thought it over well?" "Yes." "Are you sure?" "Yes." "Well, good," he said, and with an editorial sigh he passed on the article. It appeared in the next issue.

Kenedi: But at the social science institutes the banning system and the defense against it are actually different. Let us continue with Csalog. He was able to save the article in this case with civil courage: He was protected by his name, his reputation as a writer, and the public opinion before which our cultural policy is a bit embarrassed if a well-known writer's work does not appear for years. But his name may hurt him in his sociological research work, although he not only uses it for literary material but he lives off of it, it succeeds or it doesn't. Because his name appears on the consultation list, he was sent packing from the Central Service Development Institute, although both of us had already been called up for deep interviews. But while in the literary world (in principle) only Csalog can substitute for his own name under the article, he could extend to me his solidarity like respectable writers did in the 1950's: I could write in the black, I could translate under his name--until then the trump card of an institute manager in social science is that names can be substituted for. It is all the same who does 25 deep interviews, who fills out and who codifies 100 questionnaires--if Csalog's or Kenedi's name is on the consultation list--someone else will do it. No problem.

Haraszti: But in your hands, too, the trump card is that you can substitute a name! A straw man, whose name does not appear on the consultation list, signs the contract, and you give an interview in the black. You can find respectable men who will give their name, even as the writers did in the 1950's--what's the difference?

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6. Zsolt Csalog, writer: until 1970 he was active as an antiquarian and ethnographer. He is the author of several volumes of short stories, and of literary sociology. A number of his writings have appeared in MAGYAR FUZETEK in Paris.

7. Pal Pandi--party functionary and man of letters, chief editor of the Budapest periodical KRITIKA.



Kenedi: The nature of the work, the organizational structure and how accustomed political control and society have become to each other, there is actually no other difference. In the 1950's those among the persecuted who remained free survived somewhere in the area of literature if they were deprived of their position: journals, book publishers, radio, film studio, that's all. The whole world fits into Mandy's short stories. Aside from family, friendship and residential relationships, it met perhaps with the more distant parts of society. Science-based big industry still did not exist. The world sociology was taboo. Istvan Kemeny wrote his first sociological work under the pseudonym of Aron Mate in 1948, and then as a sociologist he remained silent for 15 years. If anyone, as he did, translated a novel in the black, wrote a radio play for kindergarten children--and managed to get by the censor with a straw man contract--he lived somehow at the level of the living standards existing at the time--he was glad to be alive! It was an extensive period, they published books by the ton, fillers trickled down from the "rolling forint" to the writers, too. The persecuted writers generally were poor like the social majority and this meant a silent solidarity, and sometimes more, in opposition to both sides, the small minority of power and its instruments of force. At the time, Ignacz Rozsa projected a head tax on those artists who gave in to authority, and even the kosher Stalinist writers "gave milk." Their conscience was not snow white. There is a difference in concept, they thought, between them and their writer colleagues who were reduced to writing in the black, but it is not necessary to eliminate them for this reason, time will solve the problem. It was the official outlook of the period that the "old, reactionary writers" will die out like buffalo, and of course there would be no "young reactionaries"--how could there be! But how long did this last? From 1948 to 1956 at most, but only to 1953 for most of the writers. A new wave of persecution but with partially different personnel composition followed the earlier one in 1957 and lasted until about 1962. The maximum time periods were 6 years for each. The 12 years which Istvan received as his share was a rather exceptional and unfortunate coincidence. But those who are in a similar situation today have had it for 12 years, for it was because of 1968 that they were separated from intellectual work places, and since then they are living on (but not in prison!). The difference is not in the double time period, but in the fact that meanwhile the world and society have changed. These 12 years have also become a socialization and learning process, the concept of the times has also transformed the official outlook. The ancient buffaloes are dying, but the young ones are coming--and they must eat. And where did they come from? From families and schools, of course, but also from the institutions of the socialist system, that is, their social composition differs decisively from that of the persecuted in the preceding two waves. The behavior forms that develop are adjusting to the difference once it is evident that it is not possible to eliminate the species. Living standards have risen, consumption habits have spread, and the science-based large industries have appeared. This absorbs the opposition up to the unskilled workers and sometimes higher, but at the same time makes it more subordinate than the writers once were. Those living today could not live merely from literature: the completion time for a translated novel is two or three times longer than in the 1950's, whereas the honorarium is two or three times less. The spatial difference is linked to the duration of time. The writer bought a dictionary and the novel and sat down, as Laszlo

Nemeth put, in the "galley bench," until he finished the book. He turned the translation over to the straw man, who took it to the publisher, and brought back the money. In relation to the nature of the work, the writer could be controlled at home, in the coffeehouse, where he drank a small black cup of coffee, or in the editorial office if the style of the straw man was too reminiscent of Laszlo Nemeth. In addition to the fact that the control conditions tied to this area have not come to an end, the ability to control black work as a consequence of its spatial embeddedness has multiplied, even though control itself has been socialized and freed from rude intervention. As long as literary production is essentially tied to a single subculture, the large industry which brings forth a scientific society is linked to as many subcultures in society as surveys are prepared. A part of the control, therefore, is in the straitened conditions that the straw man must fetch the work while the black must go out in the broad area of society: he visits the villages and farms, and the more telltale signs he carries the wider the social distance is between the interview subject and the black. Istvan Bibó carried out his own convictions in a dark-blue horseherd outfit, and (outside the 6 hard years when they put a striped coarse garment on him) he visited the library, the Europa Kiado (publishing house), and for 30 years the same social circle equipped like this--I saw his wardrobe. But even if you don't have long hair, to which society is becoming accustomed, and the big Kossuth beard is not as prominent a mark as it was on the 56er's (I myself have sat opposite a detective with a small Petöfi beard), you have something else, Miki, which is conspicuous. You can change your clothes, but what are you going to do about your cultural and consumer habits? If you don't have a television set, and you did not see last night's program, they will look at you funny when you are interviewing in the countryside. "Why don't you have a car, a lot, a summer house," your interview subject will be wondering: "Is this a decent man?" He will ask questions of his own and you will be all the more suspect if you answer in an unusual way. In the 1950's, if a shabby-looking writer came to a village because he was going from door to door selling Sztalinvaros regional pictures, they looked at him and fed him tripe stew. This is how it was. They understood the situation. A stigma was a stigma, and right away they stigmatized the entire society. The "survivors" of old times looked on the intellectuals as missioned to lead the people out of their troubles sometime. But the subsequent generations were too late for this outlook, while the older ones sometimes abreast to the disappointment by exclaiming "What has become of the intelligentsia, they are parasitic millionaires! They fatten themselves on the work of others!" This is what the TV shows the youth also. There is nothing surprising in the hostile reception. Not because the false picture is true at times, not at all! Well, what will you answer when they ask who you are, and why are you what you are? Nation, Independent Homeland--they would understand this, but we have taken on another area of freedom: Human Rights, Freedom of Speech and Opinion--"Hey, what in the world" what are you saying?--"Well, here anyone can speak, for example, you yourself said whatever it was, rights, or what the devil." Or you can tell some lie, but your ears will burn, and you are not facing some kind of idiot, Miki, and he now realizes: "Well here is the parasite millionaire, and he is lying, too, look how his ears are burning!" But it flashes through your mind that the stigma is protected then too, for you are preoccupied with how you might be freed from the behavior signs of your own subculture. If a symbolic representation appropriate to the political meaning is lacking, then let there be nothing which will separate you

from the engraved caricature of the intellectual. If in following (expensive) consumer habits or in flexibility of mentality, you neglect to adjust to the falsely inspired image of the intellectual, then God help your straw man! When they start to pester him at the work place: "Where did you do the interview, what did you say to the subject? Oh, it wasn't you who was there, then who?" Your interview subject (or his son) is a member of the MHSZ [Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense], of Civil Defense, of the Workers' Guard, and of countless shadow authorities that are growing behind political and semimilitary organizations (you know what it is since it froze a whole Europe like this to its thick ice), and he did not report you, only in his boredom he told an anecdote about the queer guy who visited him the other day--"He spoke of human rights and things like that." The information is as great a value for your interview subject as for you, but he uses it elsewhere for something else. There is a big difference between reporting and telling anecdotes. Miki, you are the one for whom a dive is all the same. You may run into the shadow power, but it may even be more likely that you are the shadow of the power. As compared to the 1950's, your different interview subjects have much more to lose: the country has become richer. How? People have reason not to blab it out to just anyone. If there had been sociological surveys at that time, the interview subject would have kept quiet about how he loathes the system, and this would have been it. He had nothing. But today he is building a house, he is storing gasoline in the cellar. He is making a disco purse [diszkotaska] for small shops on the sly. He coexists with the system as he can, and he is on the defensive against you who "came from above," you are the power since you are defending your straw man because you did not succeed in coexisting with the system and you slipped down into the status of a black. For interviewing you need a letter of credence, if it is made out in the name of the straw man what will the black do when the interview subject asks for it, or the policeman asks for identification? In 1971 when we were working on Istvan Kemeny's Gypsy research project,<sup>8</sup> the party center had already revoked my commission, but not Csalog's, we covered ourselves by visiting the megyes together, and when we were asked for identification, Csalog would show his letter, at the same time pointing to me as a servant carrying the tape-recorder. I carried a palm-size tape cassette behind Csalog's weighty letter. Of course, to do this it was necessary to have the complicity of the research director, but where now are the protective wings of Kemeny?

Kenedi: He has alighted in Paris, well good, but this was a national survey about a very sensitive subject. Commissioned interviewers were also arrested at times who had a perfectly valid letter of credence because the local police decided that they themselves were the authorities in Gypsy matters, and

8. Between 1969-1970, young research workers under the leadership of Istvan Kemeny began the sociological study of the situation of the poor in Hungary, including the Gypsy population. The summary, which was prepared by 1972, was classified as strictly confidential by the authorities, and all further research was forbidden. In 1977, Istvan Kemeny left Hungary, he is living now in Paris, a permanent staff member of our periodical. (In regard to the poverty survey, see the supplement in the September-October 1978 issue of IRODALMI UJSAG.)



not the sociologists. Kemeny fished his colleagues out of provincial police stations, but it was finally decided in Pest who was authoritative: the Gypsy studies were stopped and the research director was sacked. But still, Jancsi, in less important matters it is not necessary to have a letter of credence, and for codification not at all, in such cases the authorities are defenseless against black work.

Kenedi: I too believed in this for a time until I realized what incidental information from telephone eavesdropping is useful for, the tidbit. It became suspicious to me that the following was repeated again and again. A research director calls me up, say on Tuesday, asking me to go in on Friday to the institute for some codification work. I arrive there, explanations, like in Karinty's classical book "Please, Mr Professor": there is no school, they took in the gates. Then in order to verify my hypothesis, I entered on a scientific experiment myself. I agreed with friends of mine working at three different scientific institutes who were participating in a given, current research project that they should call me up and offer me work on the telephone, and they should talk to no one about this but me. All three of the "experiment personnel" were called in by their superior either inquiring as to why he wanted to give work to a suspicious outside worker or forbidding outright that I should be given work. I also controlled the result on a "control group." Together with four of my friends, we prepared a telephone scenario. According to this, we acted out a telephone conversation as if I were already taking part in a codification job under way: we debated the technical details. But this kind of codification was not being done at all at the institute. The superior pestered my four friends about this fictional work, but this kind of stupidity did not even have a place in the plan.

Haraszti: Well, you can defend yourself if you avoid the telephone!

Kenedi: With my own infantilism, for what am I in fact doing? I hear on the telephone that I am codifying the bedtime stories of the little ones, but with all the strength of my lungs I blow my anger at the system because I do not plot my political views! You can see that in face of this opposition the consultation list is adequate power. Do not imagine that they will extend expensive telephone eavesdropping to such a broad scope that it will include all those on the consultation list! Such work is going on in hundreds of institutes, and anyone can enter a telephone booth, well not everyone has a telephone as yet! But what is the organization of science for? If scientific collective life has resigned itself to its professional autonomy being broken down by the so-called "main directions" and a top organ decides what is the subject in society that is worthy of research, why should they not resign themselves to having no independent voice in the selection of work colleagues? It has become widely believed, for example, that in scientific life the consultation list refers exclusively to the "main directions," or to those several special subjects which are performed with special-purpose finances and inter-institute work. If they employ an outside worker on these special tasks, they send the third copy of the contract form to a special department of the Academy, and there they approve the job of the person concerned or they do not. But last week the following happened to me. I walked into the office of the National Health Institute to have them sign a contract for codification

work, or more precisely the renewal of a contract from last year which somehow passed through the officials in charge. No subject could be farther removed from "major troubles" for here it was mostly foods that had to be codified. I recall "dish of boiled beans, with sausage 360: tokefile rantva 482," and so on. A lady friend of mine who was passing through Pest, stopped by my desk, licked her lips and asked: "What is this, are you working for Gundel?" I should have continued this codification in the spring but the research organizer informed me that there is no more tripe stew and roast pork a la McMahon. They canceled my contract. I am on the consultation list. Who on earth?--I thought dumbfounded. The officer in charge of the matter was Mrs Marcell Seress, and she could be found in the Theoretical Research Institute of the Trade Unions, that is where they put out the research money. I picked up the telephone to find out from Marcell Seress why I could not do the work. "I am not obligated to justify," the lady informed me. I referred to my right to work at the institution whose factotum is Sandor Gaspar, the president of the Trade Union World Federation, who is not only obsessed with the right to work but is also such a hero that he thumbed his nose at the trade union functionaries of the socialist countries and wrote a letter to Walesa in Gdansk,<sup>9</sup> perhaps his subordinates have caught some of this fever. "I sign 600 contracts a day," said Marcell Seress, "you don't think that I am going to justify all 600, do you?" "It would be enough with those that are rejected," I tried to make a point. "I am not obligated in those cases either," I heard her say with a warm, calm voice in the telephone receiver. I referred to the UN Labor Affairs Organization, and I asked her if she had heard of it. "Of course, I have heard of the United Nations." "Well, they will hear about you, too," I started impudently to throw in the towel, because I knew I was powerless. Walesa is under house custody, the leaders of Solidarity are behind barbed wire standing knee-deep in snow, would the UN Labor Affairs Organization defend my rights?

Haraszti: Is it always the Marcel Seresses who won?

Kenedi: No. Last year there was a sensational victory, this was perhaps my best day of all year. The affair started in 1980 when the ELTE [Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences] Sociology Faculty signed a contract with me to complete 30 questionnaires. The first job had been in my own name 3 years ago: it required information on the careers of engineers. The work started in a promising way because the research director, with whom I had no friendship ties, behaved 100 percent correctly. The use of commissioned interviewers is proper for questionnaires, here is the contract, he said, but the next phase of the work--deep interviews with the same engineers is more interesting and better paid--and also outside your competence. For that it

9. In October 1981, on the threshold of the Solidarity trade union congress, Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the Hungarian Trade Union Council, wrote a letter to Lech Walesa. To be sure he did not accept the invitation of the free Polish trade unions to the congress but he added that he was ready at anytime to discuss with Walesa "the role and mission of the trade unions in the spirit of international requirements and the traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship." Since the military putsch by General Jaruzelski, Gaspar visited Warsaw a number of times, but it has not been reported that he talked with Walesa.



is also necessary to have the signature of the faculty department chairman, and he not only doubted that Tibor Huszar would approve, but he was not even inclined to fight for me, because he found research work more important. This was plain talk, and anyway I like the work. There was a deadline, several hundred engineers had to be questioned in 2 months. Meetings between the employed engineers and the commissioned interviewers, who were harried by a deadline, was arranged by the faculty administrator, who was suffering from a very serious mobility illness and who carried out his work with superhuman effort and diligence; and he did it by sending the interviewers out to the engineer's work place or residence, or if there was no way of doing this he invited the engineer into a vacant room in the faculty department or the faculty library. In the first month I worked in the provinces, and in the second month in the faculty department as well. The first day that I set my foot into the faculty library the librarian requested a Bibo-bibliography from me--he knew I had prepared one. "We had one, but we lost it," and he berated the disorder, also complaining that for days he had been unable to find the xerox copy of a Bibo letter, although the faculty had started on a serious Bibo collection. And Tibor Huszar, too, is dealing with Bibo. It is his intention to render Bibo harmless and build him into the official intellectual gallery, and it is mine to let him show his fangs if these belong to the picture, but the difference in our Bibo concept is less interesting to this story than the fact that about that time Huszar published a Bibo biography interview in VALOSAG, and I resolved the next time we met to congratulate him. No matter how surprised Huszar would be who sees me as an enemy in Bibo and other matters, I would shake his hands for it was in fact a very good interview. But a week before the deadline the administrator's secretary came up to me in tears: Huszar had ordered that no one may conduct interviews in the building, and now she has to rearrange at least a hundred dates, she doesn't know how, for those who were supposed to come into the faculty department had no other suitable place. The measure did not particularly affect me with my three remaining engineers, I invited the subjects of the interview to my apartment--but the tears were flowing in the girl's face, the other commissioned interviewers were tearing their hair, and mainly the engineers were enraged because they had given their time as a favor. The row was over the lost copy of the Bibo letter--at the faculty they said: "The BM men came out to investigate how the letter got abroad" sic!--but what this meant I understood only the next evening. That is, I was suspected of stealing the letter (which several months later Huszar arranged for publication in TISZTAJ). It became clear as I was interrogating the next to the last engineer, the telephone in my apartment rang and the well-mannered research director spoke: "Wherever you are, close the questionnaire and leave off with the work," this was Huszar's order. Naturally, I did not tell the engineer that he should scam home because I am a public enemy, but I finished filling out the questionnaire, as called for, and next day I turned everything in, I heard the research director out, who told me in a voice trembling with shame the official reason--"with my personality I overwhelmed them, the researchers!"--and I resolved to tear off Huszar's ears when I see him. For a year I was enraged every time I was around the university and like a lunatic I kept repeating what I would say when I met Huszar--how he had humiliated his subordinates in my eyes, how he made clowns of tired engineers and young commissioned interviewers only because he had conceived a suspicious relationship between the missing copy of a letter and my appearance at the faculty, and finally on that wonderful day last year, he appeared on the

street. I began with a sincere congratulation, and I enjoyed seeing his head swell at the tribute for the Bibó interview, and then I let him have the rest! My anger did not die down for a year whenever I thought of the secretary--she bothered me the most about the whole incident. I felt as though I had added the seventh goal to a 6:3 score.

Haraszti: Is this the only victory you had in the Kenedi versus Marcell Seress game?

Kenedi: Only? Isn't one good day out of 365 enough for you? What kind of proportions do you have in your life, Miki? But leave nonsense aside! The truth is that as many times as I put down the receiver with a humiliation masked by this kind of impudence or I wave my hand at the thought of protest and I do not even lift the receiver because I regard the UN Labor Affairs Organization as a Circumlocation Office, I am harming myself, too, but even more I am harming the unskilled worker class into which the researchers who are being forced out of social science are sinking, and those young people who after their university career do not rise higher than this. With the subclass of "codniks" it is a relatively small group which belongs to the Hungarian democratic opposition, and political discrimination forbids their employment. When one of them, like myself, gives into someone like Marcell Seress on the telephone, I believe there are two reasons for this.

Haraszti: Realism and faint-heartedness....

Kenedi: Yes. Those who direct scientific and cultural policy take advantage--let us say--of my submission in that they know that Western public opinion judges the government of the Hungarian People's Republic as one that observes the UN Charter and the Helsinki Agreement because--at this moment--none of the members of the democratic opposition are in prison. This is the standard. It does not interest anyone to know whether or not I am allowed to codify tripe stew. This directly contradicts international law, violates the basic principles of democracy and human dignity, but still it is a more realistic concept. I also prefer to codify tripe stew rather than eat out of a "prison kitchen." This is realism. In the West, it is held together by public opinion imbued with Eastern propaganda, and in the East by my own worthlessness. Why do I not fight to the very end with every single Marcell Seress if I believe in the universal ideal of the right to work, and in all the other lesser freedom rights? This is faint-heartedness, and of course, "health education." I don't want to be a lunatic at large. I don't want to be a letter writer, a denouncer who is always carrying on a quarrel, rushing into offices, brandishing my rightful grievances and the justice of my case like a club and scattering blows among the bureaucrats. No, Miki, I do not want that. I would like to read, to think, to learn about society, and for this I would like to protect the soundness of my mind. From compromise. Only my submission--may I put it in plurality--our submissions will lead to dangerous consequences if we make light of these things with a sniggering laugh. The waving of consultation lists or pure bluffing is spreading among the scientific institutes like an epidemic, and the nonscientific institutions are also starting to borrow the custom. Listen, old chap, the Film Studio (not the art but the architectural division) wanted to rent my apartment for shooting a

film--this one, where we are sitting, and not the one that the hero of the book built for himself. For 2 months I would have received the equivalent of a year's codification work--which is 32.4 percent (not calculated at black market multipliers) of the sum at which the critic of NEW SOCIETY estimated my ability--but it could not be! I would have had to collect materials for the Pannonia Film Studio for an animated film on the lure of the West, on emigration--like the movement of people at the turn of the century. Do you think it was possible? No. Because the infection of the consultation list is spreading outward from the scientific institutes, and every small and sensitive matter, dealings in personalities can be hidden away behind this procedure. Consider the career of Mihaly Hamburger, which shows the course of the future. Because of 1968 (and thereabouts) he was fired as a university professor--he was teaching philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy. He received a sinecure for several years at the Theoretical Research Institute of the Trade Unions, not exactly in a subject that he understood, but still a task that belonged to his sphere of interest. He contributed to the samizdat book "Marx in the Fourth Decade,"<sup>10</sup> and with this he also said goodbye to the sinecure. He got a job pumping gasoline, far removed from this area of interest and from science, but at least he could work: He has three children. At the end of the 1970's, however, he signed as many solidarity statements as appeared. And now what is he doing? He is a salesman traveling the country selling fly buttons. They did a number on him, that is certain, but look at the story from another aspect! In three entirely different work environments what did they learn during these 14 years about the fate of Hamburger? How many, but how many saw that they ruthlessly violate the provisions of the legal code, the enterprise statutes when they remove someone from his position because of his convictions. My history also betrays its indirect effects because at the sociological faculty the researchers for whom the removal of their onetime colleagues was a lesson cast down their eyes before me, and Marcell Seress, if never before, during the long period involved in the casting out of Hamburger learned at the Theoretical Research Institute of the Trade Unions where the Lord God dwells. And still, the whip is not cracking on us, the several hundred members of the democratic opposition, but on those researchers and bureaucrats who are working in these institutions, and on those for whom the institutes are proving constantly lower level work. For the hand that reaches after Hamburger, is giving the cue to me, too, when I seek work, but the warning symbol of interference remains in the scientific work places. But now everyone treats the symbol with caution. This beating about the bush is fixed and refined in patterned rules and the behavior is integrated in the operation of the institution. The results infiltrate the science and the morale of the employees. In the case of science this happens when a number of friendly hands as opposed to the threatening fist appear on the scene and help Hamburger or me to black work, which satisfies my professional capabilities with interviewing, but Hamburger was swept by his sinecure

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10. One of the first publications of the Hungarian samizdat appeared in September 1977. Andras Kovacs, philosopher, sent a circular questionnaire to the Hungarian intellectuals who were entering on their fourth decade regarding their relationship to Marxism. He collected the replies, 21 in number, in a 270 page volume. (For a detailed review of the book see the July-August issue of IRODALMI UJSAG.)

to the very edge of his professional skill, not to speak of the others. But in order not to meander out of science, let us continue with a philosopher. Mihaly Vajda would also have taken part in the administrative-sociological survey from which Csalog and I were discharged--9 of us out of 16 commissioned interviewers. Vajda dealt with hermeneutics, Husserl, and others as long as he could; of course he can push down the tape-recorder button when he sits opposite the reporter of the jaras council, but a more talented interviewer than he could be engaged except that the research director felt obliged to help his friend, the philosopher. That is to say, if he did not take up the struggle with the hiring ban at the expense of his own scientific production. The preparation of a sociological interview is a profession. Its value is best known to the research director who most often lends a helping hand because relatively it means more work for him to make up for the professional shortcomings of the philosopher, the librarian and the musicologist, while in the absolute sense what he does affects the substance of science adversely. It would be sensible only if science were science, that is, if Vajda dealt with hermeneutics, Hamburger with his profession, and then in this way the conscience of the research director would be concentrated on his own production since money is taken from the taxpayers for science-based industry. But of course few research directors will start with qualms of conscience at the level where Tibor Huszar and Marcell Seress are risking the citizens' money, rather they will generally begin at a lower level where it is possible to help the immediate victims. If they start at all. When the mode of treatment that has been dealt us spreads, the spine of the scientific researchers cracks and rattles and they can shield themselves from this by saying they are looking after more colleagues who are "without problems"--that is, they are setting up behavior models to a willingness to conform--and they can also shield themselves by saying that they are helping to release the limits of protectionism and corruption because this is for them the best cover. Personality can pervade a research place dealing with social science to such an extent that even the data recording will be distorted if the research director has the questionnaires filled out by reliable rowing partners or if the same university study circle receives the work. Intensive familiarity and the lack of outside names can loosen morale to such an extent that they will simply fill out at home the answers of the interview subjects. The consultation list actually is a defense against the formation of a data-falsifying lobby composed of the members of the opposition, but I would not think that this is its goal.

Haraszti: Actually, one can look at these happenings from another aspect and it can be seen that the consultation list, the devising of the hiring ban, and so forth will lead to the further moral weakening of the bureaucrats and to a paralysis of the institutions. But there is also a third aspect from which to judge the situation. From where it can be seen that the defense is organized at a higher level. Vajda wrote a petition to Dr Miklos Siman, the director of the Central Service Development Research Institute; Hamburger collected documentation on the ban and presented it to the president of the academy. However, when they fired Balnt Magyar from the World Economic Institute--because he had consulted(!) with Polish colleagues--there were three dozen economists who defended his professional reputation, who protested to the president of the academy, and lo and behold Magyar succeeded in being restored to his profession. But Jancsi, don't you think, you who have written a book on



the intertwining of protection, corruption and the black market, that this is the way a rigid dictatorship falls apart? Open judgments are lacking; their place is taken by cunning internal directives, which are sometimes observed and sometimes sabotaged, because many different kinds of moralizing have taken over the role of plain compliance. Moralizing is born in gaps, and this in itself releases new gaps. Even for the more effective defense of human rights.

Kenedi: How?

Haraszti: In cleaning up one sentence: We Are Kicking Balint Magyar Out Because of His Political Views, 2 kilos of paper are used. The first kilo is used up by the official bureaucracy for a clever settling of the matter. And while after a half year of push and shove the result is born: Balint Magyar Is Unsuitable for His Work, the file records of three labor courts are swallowing paper, ministries and department heads are corresponding with another: the Foreign Ministry writes to the Interior Ministry and the latter to the academy, paper, paper. And then estimate the other overhead expenses in paper value: telephones, institute and interinstitute notices: how should the dismissal be rationalized that in the end it was not for political reasons--how many paid employees waste their time with this, Jancsi, can you calculate? The second kilo of paper, on the other hand, is sucked up by the second publication system for everyone writes his manuscripts on paper stolen from this bureaucracy, on its typewriter ribbons, using its paper clips and dossiers. Looking at it from this point of view, the one piece of paper on which the 30 protesting economists signed their names can be reckoned over into solidarity like that 40-gram package when the typist, who heard throughout some similar matter, slips into your hand, and the solidarity can again be recalculated in manuscript paper--well, how would that ad hoc group of economists have been formed around this case which stood up for their persecuted colleague, if they had not known one another from the second publication system? And from house parties.

Kenedi: I know it is an expensive past-time for the state to suppress publication.... But the second publication system is not such a good deal for culture.

Haraszti: Because even bad samizdat works have a mystical value?

Kenedi: Not at all. If I were to accept this well-known demagogic argument, I would have to accept that they published "Darabber" in the West only because it did not appear in the East (only in samizdat). Although cultural values have nothing to do with censorship. But the suppression of publication in the East is one of the fallen dominoes in a series which the corruption of Western democracy started, although the deformation of its cultural values is the "smallest" consequence of the crumbling.

Haraszti: From your reasoning I understand that you are waging a "two-front war" like the comrades of old, but for whom and against whom?

Kenedi: Well, Western public opinion compensates at our cost the above-mentioned omission in culture--let it stay between the two of us. Instead of



protecting the right to work, it supports the success of a literary production if it comes from the second publication system. It is a bit of a smuggling--do you know its result? From the cultural point of view it is that they publish your book and mine in Paris with the beat of drums. Monsieur Maspero grows poorer, the reader doesn't understand a word from this Hungarian jungle, and thus it is not possible to publish the sociographic works of Csalog, Tar, Vagi, Berkovits, etc. because the publisher would truly be ruined, but no matter: "They will appear officially in the first publication system" and as a consequence it will not even come to Western public attention that they are presenting this Hungarian reality one by one and more valuably than you and I together. The differentiation between the first and second publication system stems obviously from the censor and not from Western public opinion, and not from the Hungarian sociographers. But as our books come back to the second Hungarian publication system from their Western detour, they bring with them the censor's outlook--in protest of which we handed manuscripts to the samizdat--and the Hungarian sociographic works will soon be of two kinds, according to the censor's distribution of the publications. From the viewpoint of the right to work the result of the smuggling is that the paralysis of the institutions, the constraselection, and the complete deterioration of the work morality is spreading, along with the smug indifference of Western public opinion, and this is what is bringing us to ruin, not enforced silence. If possible, we would speak of this in the unnumbered publications. And to those whose life is ruined by this, no? Samizdat is not suitable, to be sure, for value formation, but it is for mobilizing public opinion if human rights are violated. Simply because life is dangerous in a mass society if democracy is eliminated from its institutions. Morbus hungaricus comes from the anemia of democracy, and it is this shared conviction that leads the sociographers, even 50 years ago the demand for land distribution by the first generation around Illyes and Zoltan Szabo was the common creative strength of solidarity, which could not be corrupted either with censorship or success.

Haraszti: The course of Hungarian development, therefore, is that it must adjust with corruption to the corrupt Western democracy, isn't that what follows from your words? In order for you to advocate liberty of opinion and freedom of speech you must also defend corruption. You or someone else must if you fear for your spiritual purity, or you may choose a centaur solution like the hero of your book.

Kenedi: My hero does not regard freedom of speech and opinion as special values, he feels close to those values of middle-class democracy that cluster around consumption. He sees reality from the aspect of his own interest relations, and he forms an ideology out of this. A rational but not a sympathetic one. Have you ever seen an ideology put together of (only) two contradictory theories?

Haraszti: But you, too get into contradictions with yourself by moralizing over corrupt relations, which also keep alive your moral principles, and with greater sociological binding power than any kind of ideological declaration. Take the institute department chief of whom you were talking a while ago. Isn't it better that instead of turning away from samizdat publications he

keeps sending your friend Peti to the Rajk-shop and in this way his dual morality eases (hozzalazul) to the crumbling science policy. But the sociological faculty "stole" the Bibó bibliography from the samizdat, and then somebody stole it from them, and again it was obviously copied. There is a broad contradiction also in this latter example. If officials were always strictly observant of rules and nobody were to sabotage the law and the direction of superiors, even fewer Jews would have survived Nazi rule. There would have been no one to issue false papers, to wink at the sight of someone in hiding, and so on. When you damn the network of relations woven around institutions, you not only forget that you are also sponging on it. You forget something even more important. In how many officials, scientific researchers is civil courage strengthened because they do not shut ears when hearing what superiors are contriving merely in order to keep you from coding tripe stew. I am not certain that it has a greater effect on morale than what we do in the democratic opposition, but I am certain that you look down on your colleagues and on officials if you do not assume that they, too, have eyes, ears, a mouth, and they will also speak when like you they have had enough. Ultimately, this is why you also do what you do, isn't it so?

Kenedi: Miki, I was speaking not about my ideals but about my everyday life. This is what you asked when we wanted to start an elevated dialogue about the relationship between the British criticism and reality, but the telephone rang. And if I did not think that the values of middle-class society emerge in the disintegration process of a dictatorship, I would not have written a sociographical work saying that they certainly do appear, but in what distorted way! The everyday ideology which comes together in the hero's head in "Yours Is the Country..." is the exact opposite of reality. Of distorted reality. In which protection, corruption and the underground economy are organically built together, and are indivisible from the other life processes of society. It is part of a civil society that one should want to live as my hero likes, but what also belongs here is that someone else according to another value system should accept or reject values of this heterogenous process, whether of the old democratic values or of the new. That civil rock--of which you speak--which rises from the sea of corruption is actually present in the Hungarian society of today, but the hero of my book is a Robinson Crusoe on it. I do not want to shove him off that rock, but I am attempting to see that in addition to the consumer demands of a civil society, moral demands should also be present, but should stem from another stock. It is true that if the scientific institutes were not as corrupt as they are I would not get work either, and what is even more true, factual and intelligent studies would not be prepared from the frightful efforts, adroitness, and exploitation of gaps by a number of persevering researchers, and through the sinful waste of talent. But for the time being, it is not those officials I see who will rise up on their hind legs in a disastrous situation. (It is true, that for now we do not have a catastrophe.) But what do I see? In the archives of the social science institutes--where documents on the personal lives of thousands and thousands of interviewed citizens are kept--two persons who do not belong to the institute and who according to the administrator's knowledge are inspectors from the BM--spend their time reading. They are only curious about our telling who interviews under what assumed name. And what do the inspectors find? That a bartender from Angyalfold tells how

he makes illegal brandy; another youngster tells about a currency network that extends to three countries; and a third one tells how he got an apartment by a trick or else he would still be living in a tool-house in Halasztelek. If the inspector is the least bit ambitious--and who would not be in a military organization--he will not be satisfied only with knowing what assumed name I used for the interviews, but he will also enter in his little notebook all these affairs. And then who will defend these people? Those whom straightforwardness and a naive trust in social science will not bring before a court of justice but they will be exposed to all kinds of blackmail, that is dead sure. Of course I believe you that in the moments of a national catastrophe there will be officials of good will who will afford protection to the stigmatized, but for the moment the moral slackness has made many things permissible and natural. Including that I need to work in the black despite the ban, and that this is the way to find out who my straw man is. Because this simple situation comes about when a researcher who is invited to teach in a sociological faculty and an evening student who is incidentally a BM man like each other, and then the BM man comes a bit into the institute archives to browse among the old interviews. He learns, and he is even devoted a bit to his profession. I believe in times when the situation is not dangerous, career morality, professional etiquette and the observance of rules protects these people who have been interviewed. This is why my face turned purple when the telephone rang, and the administrator said that the inspectors were visiting and my wife should go instead of me. It is a small thing as an everyday occurrence. Do not be angry, Miki, but I am jarred from superiority when the telephone rings like this, and even with your help I am not able to dance attendance before the French reader, because I am always thinking of why the administrator woman called. Why she didn't alert the chairman of the Sociological Society to the fact that improper persons were in the archives and doing mischief in the biographic materials!

Haraszti: She should have called the police because police were in the archives?

Kenedi: That's right, Miki, that's right!

Haraszti: It is good that you say this, Jancsi, you are the one who does not get work from these sociological institutes because they spread a rumor that you "smuggle deep interviews abroad"....

Kenedi: I wish it were true, and then there would be some sense to this silliness, namely, the publications system would offer some protection to these men since the laws do not do what they are supposed to.

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## HUNGARY

### MINISTER OUTLINES AIMS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION SYSTEMS

Budapest MAGYAR MEZOGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 38, Sep/Oct 82 pp 3-4

[Article by Deputy Minister Dr Gabor Magyar: "The role and further development of production systems"--Based on a talk given at the Godollo Science Days; portions within slantlines in italics]

[Text] In our agriculture at the beginning of the 1970s appeared the production systems, as cooperative and integrated organizations, in which a specific circle of agricultural enterprises undertakes the profitable development of certain crop-growing or livestock-raising sector. In the course of this undertaking, they allow the results of the latest biological, technical and organizational learning into uniform production technology, develop this further, and organize their industrial utilization parallel with various intellectual and material services. Its purpose is /to achieve faster than average productive development in the areas so integrated, by the application of leading technology--leading, even by international standards--and thus exert a pull-along effect on the development of agricultural production as a whole/.

Production systems were created by leading agricultural large enterprises, institutions, or industrial concerns and are operated on the basis of mutual interest.

#### The Road of Progress

Based on the experiences of the past decade, it can be stated that most elements of system-like agricultural production emerged in the area of crop cultivation on arable land. Leaders here are the IKR [Industry-Type Corn Production System] of Babolna, the KITE [Corn and Industrial Crop Growing Cooperation] of Nadudvar, the KSZD [Socialist Cooperation in Corn Production] of Szekszard and the BKR [Baja Corn Growing System] of Baja.

In the mid-seventies, horticultural and animal husbandry production systems formed, based on the experiences of the crop growing systems, and already more and more of these are starting to join up with the leaders.

In the area of crop cultivation on arable land there are 21 production systems operating. The integrated sown area already exceeds 2.5 million hectares,



or more than half of the arable land--(74 percent of the total area sown in wheat, 85 percent of the large enterprises' corn fields, 82 percent of sunflower, 74 percent of sugar beet fields belong to production systems).

/The most significant results were achieved in wheat and corn production./ Here development of cultivation technology and various services succeeded to the highest level. The system average per hectare yield of wheat was stabilized at about 4.5 tons and corn at above 6 tons. In 1981, on cornfields drawn into system-like production, the average crop harvested was 6.6 tons per hectare, but there were several member estates, where /an enterprise average of 11-12 tons per hectare corn yield was attained./

In horticulture there are 13 state-recognized production systems operating. In the 530 partner estates affiliated with them, they are organizing the production of 37,000 hectares of fruit, 24,000 hectares of grapes and 25,000 hectares of vegetables. The large number of partner estates and the relatively small area drawn into integration indicate that in this area the specialization and production concentration are less than in crop cultivation on arable land. In horticulture, the more significant results were obtained in the development of grape and winter apple production. At the same time, the difficulties of development of industry-like technologization are shown by the more modest results of /vegetable production./

With production systems operating in animal husbandry, large-scale /sectional specialization/ can be seen. At present 19 animal husbandry systems are operating, and taking into account the sectional specialization of the production systems, some estates are members in several production systems, and thus are in partnership with more than 1,200 agricultural enterprises. Characteristic of the capacity drawn into integration is that 40 percent of dairy cow breeding stock, 49 percent of beef-producing cows, 70 percent of sow stock, 45 percent of brooding poultry is produced on the partner estates of the production systems.

In the animal husbandry systems, milk yield increased by 12 percent, beef cattle production by 20 percent, pork for slaughter by 11 percent relative to the baseline--the level before entering the system.

#### Advantages

Operational experiences of the production systems to date prove unambiguously, that /even state-of-the-art production technology can succeed in practice only if the system center is able to provide the most objective technical advice and service tailored to the needs of the enterprise, for the practical application of the technology. Today it is unambiguously apparent, that only those production systems are workable which are ready for the renaissance, for the exploration of development possibilities, and at the same time with variegated service are able to rise to the needs of their partner enterprises, and are able to satisfy them on ever-increasing level./



We can consider as one of the big achievements of the production systems, that /they connected Hungarian agriculture with the international flow of knowledge./ As a result, /we possess today the world's best plant and animal species, hybrids, effective weedkillers and pesticides. But they achieved their most successful breakthrough in the area of mechanizing agriculture./ From the beginning, their basic ambition was to put into operation effective machinery suitable for the high-level agrotechnical demands and yields. By trying out the best machines and implements, they proposed the purchase or licensing of many machines and implements or urged starting their cooperative manufacture. It is a result of the production systems' integrating activity, that they forwarded to many agricultural enterprises the latest domestic and international scientific knowledge, the most modern material and technical implements; without the production systems, some of the enterprises could have had access to these only with great difficulty or not at all.

/Through the example of the production systems it was proven that in our country not only those 60-80 leading large agricultural enterprises which undertook the development, organization, and then operation of a certain production system are capable of continuing the renaissance, but the decisive majority of our large enterprises have an affinity for the new, the modern, the progressive./ But the ideal, the developmental solutions can really become successful nationwide only when they appear integrated, and in this respect also the production systems have great responsibility.

It can be stated from experience that specialists working in agriculture are receptive to the new and willing to venture. As a result, the production-developing activity of the production systems--although they brought results mainly in the partner estates--had an impact on the development of food production as a whole, and even in areas outside of agriculture.

#### Tasks

The number and size of production systems evolved in the past time period. From now on, not the area, but /economical yield increase, better quality and improvement of efficiency indicators are the main tasks./ It would be sensible for those smaller systems which are not providing the integration of some special sector, and, except for the giving of expert advice--because of lack of material implements--cannot improve their services, to /cooperate/, or even /merge/ with one of the larger systems.

In the interest of further concentration of material and intellectual strengths, and more rights of intervention by the specialists of the partnership circle, /the systems' organizational form must be further developed, agricultural associations/ must be emphasized.

In developing the technology, special attention must be paid to the utilization of /energy-efficient solutions,/ to efficiency improvements, to the increase in profitability of production.

In the increasingly more difficult economic climate, those systems which can offer differentiated services, that suit the needs of the partnerships will be viable.

In the coming years, systematic, indepth /economic analysis/ and evaluation of the full productive process is indispensable. Today, the biggest work lies in this area.

In the association of the organizers of the productive systems and their member estates, /risktaking/ should also manifest itself in the wage, or financial-incentive system. The current solutions are often not suitable for this. The increased responsibility of the member estates and system organizers justifies working out the terms of /dividing/ among the organizers and member estates the excess income resulting from excess yield, quality improvements, utilization of byproducts, reduced expenses. /System organizers should avoid limited-type agreements when working out the remuneration./ Starting with the member enterprises' circumstances and level of production, and taking into consideration the necessary allocations, they should develop /differentiated/ remuneration and apply it as such.

Appropriation of the profits from system-organizing activity--beside maintaining a reasonable incentive for the system organizer--should be aimed primarily toward the expansion of the system's services, toward its completion.

#### 1. Crop-cultivating Systems on Arable Land

In the interest of better implementing utilization, it is advisable to further expand /section association./ The whole arable land crop area of the partner estate should be integrated. Each partner estate--except for special tasks--should be, if possible, a member of only one system.

It is a stressed role of production systems that in the future--to moderate differentiation--/they work out such less costly production technologies for estates with poorer cropland/ as will enable them to make use of the advantages offered by industry-like production.

The working out of field-level technology and occasional work management--harmonized with the partners--should also be demanded of production systems.

The increase of crop yields and improvement of content value (the quality) are equally ranked tasks, especially with those plant products that will be industrially processed, or to which our export interests are connected.

We must pay special attention to the /rapid introduction and dissemination of new production methods./ In this connection, stressed tasks are the rapid dissemination of energy-efficient production methods, the maximum utilization of cropland and cultivating possibilities. We emphasize especially:

--/the better coordination of ecological and biological possibilities,/ for example, smaller changes in the production structure of forage cereal. In those areas (North Hungary and West Transdanubia) where conditions for economical corn production are not fully met, those cereals which require significantly less allocation and which are more fruitful /should be favored; /

--in the interest of reducing drying costs, initiate the development of such plant specie and variety structures which, with respect to growing season, water-loss possibility at harvest time, etc make /energy savings/ possible;

--the continual decrease of arable land area, and our increasing production tasks demand /the increased efficiency of forage production./ (It is really absurd, that on a fifth of the country's arable land we should grow, with very low efficiency, first planting hay.) An important task of the crop cultivating and animal husbandry systems that are prepared for this is /to promote a fundamental improvement in the standard of green management,/ and by increasing yield, make possible the reduction of first planting fields in hay;

--today we already have well worked-out methods of /energy-efficient soil cultivation./ With due caution, energy costs can be significantly reduced. Primarily, we expect the faster dissemination of well-tried methods from the large-area production systems;

--by an order of magnitude /we must advance in the storage of forage grains without drying,/ in its use and in the utilization of plant residues.

## 2. Horticultural Production Systems

The horticultural production systems contribute to the supply of the population, the processing industry and the fulfillment of export tasks with many kinds of produce. But in addition, with certain produce, /supply lags behind demand. The average yield of production systems exceed by 10-20 percent the average of large-scale enterprises. This leading role must be preserved, despite the increasing production levels outside the system, but we must pay more attention than ever to the /quality of the produce./

The horticultural sector produces with high-valued, fixed-implement stock, large production costs and labor usage. Therefore, in the horticultural sector it is especially important, that /investments be profitably utilized. The key question of our advancement is the success of economic attitude in production./ We expect the production systems to provide the example in this respect, too.

Generally, horticultural produce can be utilized several ways: fresh consumption, processing, export. There is need for keen market sensitivity, for the flexible exploitation of possibilities hidden in the vertical. In

these the bases and possibilities of production systems are good, it is necessary that they be better utilized than thus far.

Production systems in horticulture generally did well in developing finished-frame technologies whose adaptation is attained within the frame of systematic consultations. The requirement is also valid for this area that /the systems should do more in undertaking to adapt the frame technologies on the basis of production places and enterprises./ The partner enterprise circle is generally heterogenous (size of enterprise, equipment, specialist provisions, manpower situation, financial capacity, plant stock: species, cultivation methods, etc). This many-sidedness must also be reflected by the application of technology.

The system organizer /should take the responsibility/ for the success of the technological plan, and /check consistently/ the execution of the technological plan.

It is also the duty of the system organizer to have up-to-date information on species, technical implements and production procedures. But it is also necessary that he know the accessibility and applicability of these. Therefore, we deem important /the nurturing of the production systems/ external connections with research and development institutions,/ with supply organs and with organizations abroad.

The other condition of exacting and high-standard production is the /receptiveness of the partner enterprise./ Therefore, the system organizers must bring greater care than ever to the training and continuing education of skilled workers and specialists, and also of production foremen.

### 3. Animal Husbandry Production Systems

Animal husbandry production systems should pay more attention to the /vertical development of production/, through the formation of branch systems (for example, beef raising, hog raising, etc) which direct the whole process of branch production.

During the formation of complex branch technologies /they should avoid parallel developments,/ adopt some tested methods, and technological elements of the systems operating in the branch. /Make better use of licensing and buying of know-how possibilities./

They should develop collaboration with identical branches, and also with systems working in crop production (forage production, animal product manufacturing vertical); implement among their partners rational, research-based fodder management.

Beside the quantitative increase of production, more attention should be paid to improvements in efficiency and profitability, to mutual interest and to the enforcement of risk taking.



They should strive to apply the results of research and development faster and more widely than before and in this connection, make use of new types of partnership possibilities, and accept and disseminate research institution results that are ripe for introduction.

The production systems form an integral part of our agriculture as a whole. Within this, it is necessary that system centers become such progressive places of creativity, that they can play a decisive role in the execution of stressed tasks and programs facing agriculture.

9918

CSO: 2500/39

SWEDISH AUTHORITIES FORCE RETURN OF 105 POLISH REFUGEES

Increased Emigration to Sweden

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Oct 82 p 6

[Text] Immigration from Poland is up sharply so far this year. There have been almost three times as many Polish immigrants to Sweden as there were during the same period last year.

According to the SCB [Central Bureau of Statistics], a total of 22,900 persons immigrated to Sweden during the first three quarters of this year. That is a drop of 1,100 compared to the same period in 1981.

Emigration is down by 200. In all, 21,700 persons emigrated from Sweden. The two largest groups of emigrants were Finnish and Swedish citizens.

Since immigration dropped more sharply than emigration, this year's excess of immigration over emigration was barely half as high as last year.

Most Allowed To Remain

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Agneta Rolfer]

[Text] During the first half of this year, 3,000 Poles were allowed to immigrate to Sweden. Of that number, 2,500 were granted residence permits for political reasons or because they were classified as refugees. During the same period, 105 Poles were turned away.

The 20 Poles who reached Sturup Airport on Tuesday evening will be questioned by police before the Immigration and Naturalization Board takes over and decides whether they can be regarded as political refugees.

Marie Andersson of the Immigration and Naturalization Board's press office says that the board will consider the fact that the 20 not only left Poland illegally but did so in an aircraft belonging to the Polish Government.

It is probable that the aircraft in question will be turned over to the Polish Government.

"The 20 committed a crime for which they will presumably be punished if they are sent back. The Immigration and Naturalization Board will try to determine whether they are risking an unreasonably severe sentence in Poland. If that turns out to be the case, it can be suspected that there are political reasons behind it."

On 13 December of last year, the military proclaimed military law in Poland. The Swedish Government decided that all Poles coming to Sweden would be regarded as refugees and allowed to stay. That policy continued until 14 May, when the compulsory visa system was applied to Poles, and Poles became subject to the same rules as other refugees.

Of those who were granted residence permits in Sweden during the first half of this year, 500 had ties with Sweden, since they had relatives who already lived here.

The 2,500 who had political reasons did not meet all the requirements set for political refugees, but they were granted refugee status either for humanitarian reasons or because they had ties here.

11798

CSO: 3650/23

NEW MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Prospects for Polish Culture

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 26, 17 Oct 82, pp 6, 7

[Interview with Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of Culture and Art; interview conducted prior to Prof Zygulski's appointment to this post]

[Text] [Question] Professor, I am inviting you today to undertake a difficult task, perhaps not even fully performable--an assessment of the current crisis of Polish culture: how deep is the crisis, what areas it affects, and whether we have any remedy for it...

[Answer] I accept the invitation, but on condition that you will not demand of me any prepared prescriptions. After all, I do not know whether anybody has such prescriptions today.

[Question] Agreed. And so, let us start our discussion with the turning point of 13 December 1981. Did the imposition of martial law intensify, or perhaps check, the crisis in Polish culture?

[Answer] The proclamation of martial law--an unprecedented event in the life of our contemporary young generation--was and continues to be tantamount to a shock which has been felt by our entire society and which has affected its consciousness and normal functioning. Such a shock could not but affect culture and, because of the specific characteristics of the latter, it will have a more profound and more lasting impact on it than on other areas, which can be quickly reconstructed and restored to normal activity.

Recent events have had a most negative impact not only on dissemination [of culture] and creativity--the most delicate elements of our nation's cultural life--but also, though we still do not know to what extent, on our cultural heritage and our attitude toward our past. Because in difficult moments we always turn to our past, trying to find in it not only the causes of a crisis but also indications as how to overcome it. We try to find analogies and genealogies. The past, in a way, comes alive; moreover, it is dramatized. Thus, we can even say that one of the consequences of our present crisis is the necessity of revising, for the nth time in Poland, our attitude toward our past.



The basic trait of a culture is precisely its ability to record a nation's experience and to relive this experience while trying to view it from a distance. Those who think that any episode of our present history can be eliminated from our social consciousness, and forgotten by our creative artists are wrong. They are wrong both with regard to those creative artists who are already well-known today and those who are only beginning to mature. Indeed, all that is happening now is for them an experience of a generation, a baptism, and a dramatic social initiation.

I think that reverberations, images, or even specters of our current experience will continue to be a part of our cultural life for a long time to come. It would be irresponsible to ignore this fact and to impose some form or other of passing over it in silence and limiting the artistic expression of people's experience in this very period. This would be a drastic curtailment of our nation's cultural activity and a lessening of its [social] awareness.

Let us recall that during the past 200 years we have relived, and we continue to relive again and again, all our previous crises; and it is only when they are relived, precisely in the area of culture--of fiction, theater, film, recollection--that these crises come into prominence. It is only in this form that they make our society aware of them, and our society accepts them and, in a certain manner, brings them to completion. Until this is done there will be some interruption, something unsaid, in the historical process, which in turn will be both frustrating to our society and will have a negative impact on the latter. It is here that criticism and dissatisfaction, coming from all directions, find their natural nourishment.

[Question] To speak of criticism and dissatisfaction is probably not enough. During the period of martial law, indeed, there has been an intensification of very negative phenomena in the area of culture: on the one hand, creative artists have become internal immigrants and have boycotted the mass communication media; on the other hand, there has been an increase in anti-intelligentsia feelings, reaching such extremes as a proposal to liquidate associations of creative artists. Can these occurrences be regarded as merely transitory?

[Answer] It is an incontrovertible fact that martial law results in publicly acknowledged serious restrictions of civil freedoms including also creative freedoms. For creative milieus, these restrictions are hard to bear. Moreover, at present, a very substantial part of creative activity is linked to the mass communication media, and is addressed to very wide audiences.

He who comprehends and justifies restrictions related to martial law as a higher necessity resulting from *raison d'etat*, should also recognize that this temporary, as I believe, inconvenience for culture is a part of the overall cost of martial law.

However, there is also another side of the coin. Elementary psychology demonstrates, and life's practice confirms, that different groups have different perceptions of the time of martial law. Some see it as a time for entertainment and enjoyment of life, others as a time for business

transactions, and still others as a time of waiting for a miracle. When thinking about creative milieus we should remember that creative activity is not a question of belonging to one association or another or of having an ability to write or to compose. It is, first of all, a well-defined psychological disposition, one of whose most essential elements is an above-average sensitivity, and an ability to perceive reality fully and at times tragically. And if this is so, then it becomes obvious that the reaction of these milieus to events of our time must be considerably sharper and seemingly more delayed.

[Question] But our time is considerably more impatient. What will happen, for example, to the fine network of meetings and to circulation of information and opinions that compose everyday cultural life? For example, what should be the reaction of the readers to the prolonged silence of their authors?

[Answer] While defending the right of creative artists to individual sensitivity I do not, by any means, regard it as an obligation to remain silent. After all, there is also a kind of creativity that reacts spontaneously to current events, and it should be given a green light.

[Question] But what would happen then to restricted freedoms?

[Answer] It is here that the rigors of martial law should be eliminated as soon as possible.

[Question] You are saying this on a day on which there still has been no resumption of activity by several important creative associations.

[Answer] Yes, but the problem of the associations is not simply a problem of creativity but also of the autonomy and role of these associations in the totality of the cultural life of our country. This is a much broader problem.

[Question] One of the unquestioned gains of the post-August period was also a much more active and freer circulation of diverse information and opinions about our culture. That polyphony was something creative and inspiring. However, attempts occur to close that period and to distort its true picture by, for example, omitting some and stressing other themes of creativity.

[Answer] Yes, I regard it as dangerous. Some people, owing to their primitive concept of didacticism, are inclined to believe that it is possible to return to a simplified and very one-sided presentation of our history and culture, based on the principle of arbitrarily plucking out one trend and passing over other trends in silence.

However, the most recent period has given proof of what has been no secret to any one of us, namely, that we are a pluralistic society also in the area of culture. Different world outlooks, different philosophies and traditions are coexisting and will continue to coexist with one another. Acceptance of this diversity results in acceptance of the multitrend character of our creativity and charges us to present a true and complete picture of our

history and cultural heritage. Every democratic society has the right to cultivate its diverse cultural traditions and to disseminate knowledge about them.

These cultural traditions have always appeared and reappeared in our history, and it is contrary to our traditions to remain silent about them today. Moreover, trends that have been forced to disappear from the surface become undercurrents, and then their influence always becomes distorted, and harmful to our society, in view of, let us say, our tendency to overemphasize and distort other trends in succession. Then antidemocratic tendencies begin to increase, and intolerance and hatred penetrate our society from all sides.

While being justly proud of the polyphony of Polish culture and of the coexistence of its various trends, we should regard the above as a danger signal.

[Question] Are you also taking into account another danger, that of returning to cultural nationalism?

[Answer] I would not use the word nationalism, which is so excessively burdened by too many negative connotations. It is associated with dislike of other societies, with a feeling of being exceptional, and with messianism. Nevertheless, the problem is still timely: how can Polish culture, toward the end of the 20th century, preserve its identity and its developmental force?

[Question] And, simultaneously, the accessibility and attractiveness of what it has to offer the world...

[Answer] Of course, but please remember that identity is, in a way, a guarantee of attractiveness; because, as seen against the background of deepening processes of uniformization, only those cultures will be attractive which have preserved their separateness, not in the form of exclusiveness but in the form of a friendly overture to the world. They will have preserved, moreover, their cultural sovereignty which manifests itself in a society's ability to conserve its own intellectual judgment about what is happening in the world and what a society itself is--a judgment which is currently, and not only historically, adequate. This should not be accompanied by any superiority complex, but neither should it be accompanied by unnecessary masochism and nurturing of an inferiority complex as is the case in our country.

[Question] I fear that the continuing economic crisis may have a negative impact on this objective and may even make its implementation impossible.

[Question] Let us not have any illusions! Polish culture will pay the highest price of the crisis. Polish viewers will not see many films, Polish readers will not read many books, and Polish scientists will not receive the publications of many of their foreign colleagues. However, if we just limit ourselves to these obvious assertions, it will be a hundred times more dangerous.

[Question] But what can be done?

[Answer] Inevitably, the cost will have to be paid. The question is: How high a cost and for how long? To give you an example--it is obvious that our contacts with abroad will be adversely affected, but do we not have the means to provide our society and, above all, our creative milieus, with our own, fuller than hitherto information about what is occurring in world culture? This is much easier from a technical standpoint, though more difficult in another sense.

We also can and must have a polity of [cultural] selectiveness. If we have funds to purchase not 20 but 3 films, then they must be selected with special care and must be preceded by additional publicity. While doing this, we ought to avoid pennywise thrift policies and bureaucratic delays.

For a rather long time we will have to struggle to reduce costs and to find substitute funds; but precisely this venture, requiring energy, resourcefulness and perseverance, will be a test of the force of our culture and of our society as a whole. It is an idle exercise to complain, to point out that we have missed this or that, or have not seen something else, or have not read still something else.

[Question] Let us tell ourselves openly one more thing: The place which was hitherto occupied by Poland in international cultural exchange has not remained vacant. It has been occupied by others, with their own proposals. Will we be able to regain our [cultural] markets and [foreign] interests in our culture that we have lost during the crisis?

[Answer] Time will tell whether this will be for us either one more lost chance or a proof of our national resourcefulness. I should like, however, to draw attention to another aspect of the crisis, perhaps not too fortunate for us but a real one nevertheless. For two years now, events in Poland have been in the headlines of the world press, radio, and television. Despite a generally unfavorable attitude toward our "sick" country, these events have heightened interest in it. Never before has so much been written and spoken about Poland. Although, on the one hand, most accounts are rather unfavorable, many [foreign] milieus, on the other hand, have learned some facts about Poland. I would not dismiss this lightly.

Crises in one form or another are affecting all countries today. Thus, our country is a kind of clinical example that is being watched with rapt attention by friends and enemies, and also by many neutral observers who are interested in transformations of the contemporary world. It is a certain kind of curiosity and expectation, sometimes coming from a distance of many thousands of kilometers. I had the opportunity to find this out personally during my recent visit to Mexico, where ordinary people have relatively good knowledge of our painful problems, being informed about them by the mass communication media. And so, we have a historic chance to show ourselves and prove ourselves as a nation, as well as a culture.



[Question] Today we have a great need for this kind of awareness, as well as awareness that the world is changing at a very rapid pace, becoming, in spite of diverse and sharp conflicts, also a world of nations which are ever more closely tied to one another and are compelled to cooperate closely with one another, including cooperative projects under the auspices of the U.N. If we continue to focus only on what happens between Nowy Swiat and Krakowskie Przedmiescie [streets in Warsaw], and on divisions [of our society] into those who "collaborate" and those who "solidarize," I am afraid that we will lose this very important race toward a new arrangement of international cooperation, including also cultural cooperation.

[Answer] You are quite right. What matters is that the gradual overcoming of our crisis should occur with a total awareness of not only our situation, especially that of our creative milieus, but of the situation of Poles and Poland in the current epoch. And this situation can be properly defined only when global arrangements are taken into account. Our own assessments must always contain this correction: How are our problems related to great world problems? This concerns economy, science, and culture--all the areas of our social life. Our getting rid of our provincial partisanship and pettifoggery and, at the same time, of our naivete in viewing matters for which we often have no proper measuring standards, can only improve our chances of coming out of the crisis.

An enormous role in this process is played by creative milieus, which form and disseminate an important part of public opinion. We should be developing an awareness of this responsibility today, because overcoming certain complexes of perfectly natural stresses and shocks will require time, even when general conditions are more favorable. Unfortunately, each negative fact of our life, as, for example, the events of 31 August, delays and impedes the chance to preserve and develop the Polish cultural identity, to overcome our difficulties and extricate ourselves from them, already as an independent, sovereign and cultured society which is, at the same time, an organic part of the contemporary world.

[Question] You do not overestimate, I hope, the importance of the creative milieus?

[Answer] I do not, although I have been professionally associated with them for a long time. Their activity represents an important aspect of our nation's life, but at present this aspect does not determine our historical development. Moreover, I also believe that economic problems are not the most crucial. All those who seem to think that our problems will be solved automatically by filling store shelves with goods are greatly mistaken.

In my opinion, at the root is the political crisis, and only solutions in the political sphere can provide a basis for overcoming all of our troubles. I mean here, particularly, a social contract and a real understanding and not merely attempts to gain support. Any [political] orientation toward gaining supporters leads in a straight line to dissension in society, because these supporters, in greater or lesser numbers, will unite under different banners

and will defend them persistently, with ever-increasing radicalism, as the only true ones.

At this juncture, when the times demand an ability to come to an understanding with people who, it is true, prefer a different world outlook but have sufficient historical responsibility and political intelligence to enable them to approve them [sic]. Without this true understanding, which is not just a bandying of slogans about understanding but--I do not hesitate to use this definition--comes from compromise, tolerance and finding a common denominator, no real attempt at overcoming the crisis can begin.

I consider this understanding also to be urgently necessary in order to unblock dialogue and internal communication and to counter what threatens us most--the solidification of the front lines, or, as the military put it, a war of attrition, the digging of trenches under one another and shooting at one another, without any prospect for the war to end.

These fronts must not solidify. We must achieve a minimum of understanding that could be accepted by most of our society and not just silently acknowledged as something imposed from the outside. What we are observing today is still the expectation of many milieus, particularly of worker milieus, that an understanding will come about--even after the last dramatic confrontation. Please remember that each such event is, in the awareness of most of our nation, a signal that we have very little time left to come to an understanding and that we need an understanding more than ever.

[Question] I wish I could regard this assessment as an optimistic overtone of our conversation. Thank you very much, Professor.

#### Culture and Politics

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish No 3, 31 Oct 82, pp 3, 16, 17

[Interview with Prof Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of Culture and Art]

[Text] [Question] After the events of 1905, Stanislaw Brzozowski [a Polish proletarian poet] stated that "outside of the proletariat, no other force in our society is capable of building its own life purposefully and consciously, of fighting for its own dignity, and of believing in itself." To what extent do these words still preserve their intellectual freshness, and to what extent is it already a dated document, important only to a historian?

[Answer] An attempt to interpret literally what Brzozowski wrote almost 80 years ago, without taking into account the real context and the universal hopes, convictions, and ideas of that time, cannot provide any explanation and, quite to the contrary, can even obscure the real sense of things. All the more so that a few years later the same author published, in AZIENNIK, among others, also other articles which also pertained to culture. Therefore I suggest that we narrow down our conversation to one specific point, because

a discussion of all the points can only result in increasing the number of questions and doubts, which are already quite numerous.

I will focus on the problems of the worker milieu, on what is expected of that milieu, and on the real possibilities of these expectations becoming a reality. I will begin by saying that often we see cultural matters being identified with education and, particularly, with the level of education. While participating in a world conference on cultural matters which was held recently in Mexico, I listened to the opinion of a Third World country representative, who said: "Illiteracy is not tantamount to lack of culture." And he was right; because, if we thought otherwise, we would have to assume that hundreds of millions of illiterates who comprise a large part of mankind are really a cultural desert. And this indeed is not true.

An assumption that he who has not attained a definite level of school education is, in our cultural life, simply a burden to society that requires some kind of special remedial action, results in a schoolmasterish and churlish treatment of culture.

These digressions seem indispensable to the extent that all considerations of culture have to begin with realities. Although in Poland we have noted an enormous progress, when measured on a historical scale, in the area of education of worker milieus, this progress is still slower than in many other industrialized countries. And so, we must view the culture of these milieus as it really is, and I believe that making school education the sole criteria of culture is of little use. I believe so because, among other things, never before in our history has a person been able to learn so much--as is the case at present--outside the school system: from radio, television, press, and literature.

[Question] However, research has proven that lack of proper preparation accounts for the fact that in worker milieus there is limited reception of information transmitted through the mass communication media, including cultural items.

[Answer] The problem of which you speak is already related to the quality and intensity of reception. In this case, the element of school education actually plays an important role, even though--in my opinion--not a decisive one. However, a statement cannot be made that it is only through school knowledge, through education of an encyclopedic type, that our participation in culture increases and acquires valuable characteristics. Too often we make fetishes of encyclopedic knowledge as well as of scientific degrees. I assert that precisely one of the causes of improper assessment of the culture of worker milieus is the attempt to apply to it criteria which are transferred from a world which is professionally concerned with cultural matters. Please remember that one of the consequences of this system in recent decades was the usurpation, by the rather exclusive world of artists, cultural activists and journalists, of the right to decide what is cultural and valuable and what is not. Because of this, amateur creativity was treated with scant respect, and was tolerated only on condition that it accept criteria which were used by professionals.

[Question] I frequently had the impression that the participation of worker milieus in culture, and their amateur and literary creativity, were treated in our cultural policy as a harmless, though inconvenient, game-playing by "little ones." What was the origin, in your opinion, of such a supercilious attitude of artist milieus toward amateur creativity, as well as toward the cultural needs of large segments of our society?

[Answer] These are, among others, relics of a gentry culture, though I think that here a greater role is played by a certain legacy which we have tended to accept, regarding it as a basic source of our inspiration. In concrete terms, it is the legacy of the epoch of enlightenment, which equated and still equates enlightenment--in the sense of school education--with culture. All this has produced a certain concept of dissemination of culture--a concept which I call "enlightened absolutism: enlightened people who have authority, including cultural authority, want to make culture available to others on the basis of drawing them, in one way or another, into the sphere of those cultural values and criteria which they themselves have recognized as genuine without asking anybody else's opinion. Consequently, what was regarded as good by those enlightened milieus was universally regarded as good. History of culture has recorded numerous examples of such "enlightened absolutism." Thus, for example, when European enlightenment flourished toward the end of the 18th century, this [enlightened absolutism] was understood to mean drawing the countryfolk into the sphere of contemporary bourgeois-aristocratic culture, or, as in the case of Poland, gentry culture. But, to give you an example, the total achievement of folk culture was treated scornfully and regarded as an example of primitiveness. Well, as late as the first half of the 19th century, the artistic achievements of non-European, particularly, African, peoples, were considered examples of barbarism meriting to be studied solely by ethnographers. This was due to identification of culture with only one area of civilization--with Europe. However, as soon as folklore was ennobled in those milieus, it became a subject of instruction. And after primitive art was finally "discovered" and scholars became fascinated by it, ignorance of its elements was already regarded as an indication of cultural poverty.

[Question] Why, then, in our socialist state, which proclaimed the need to draw from the rich wellsprings of worker and peasant culture, was there a growing inclination toward such a school system of disseminating culture as mentioned by you? As we remember, already in the interwar period many scholars "boasted" of excellent results of their research on rural and worker milieus. On the other hand, now you, Professor, are one of the few who are doing such research.

[Answer] The truth is that then the leftist scientific milieus were characterized, in my opinion, by more leftist and more democratic attitudes than now. The causes of our present, frequently scornful, attitude toward less educated milieus can be found, among others, in the results of the educational revolution which was carried out in our country. As its consequence, we began to believe that education was the basic road to social advancement and that, therefore, he who had completed higher studies was



better than others. Such a person was automatically granted the right to look "down" on those who had been prevented from obtaining higher education by fate, social conditions, or lack of predisposition. I also recall a television program of some years ago, which purported to show the worker roots of our society by presenting biographies of worker families. The producers accepted then a fairly schematic thesis which, however, was characteristic of views held at that time. Namely, a family's social advancement was always illustrated by examples of children leaving the family milieu. In the case of the worker milieu, they moved on to intellectual professions. Social advancement was linked with the need to go outside one's own social class; it is, therefore, no wonder that most often it was related to rejection of the cultural values of one's own social class. The new milieu represented, in the awareness of those who advanced socially, a higher value; and, in connection with this, few people were eager to stress their social origin.

[Question] A question of more general nature comes to my mind. Is it possible to advance socially and culturally and, simultaneously, to preserve one's ties and identification with one's original milieu and its criteria and values?

[Answer] This is a very delicate matter and it depends mainly on the criteria which are valid in a new milieu.

[Question] Professor, what kinds of conflicts can occur between a worker's son who obtained higher education and, for example, became a director, and the values which he inherited from his parents? Why must we, in a modern society, and a socialist one at that, deal with conflicts of this kind? Indeed, should not all the values compose what we call our national culture?

[Answer] You speak about what should be but I, as a sociologist, describe what is. This is a typical discrepancy between an idea-demand and reality. Let us begin by stating that there is language differentiation, in varying degrees, in our country. This differentiation is not based on a principle of total language difference, as in the case of the ancient Latin language which in Poland indeed was once a language of culture, or of national or people's language. But please note that recently worker milieus often rejected certain formulations and texts which were supposedly written and meant for them. The workers stated that they did not understand this language, because it seemed elitish, artificial, and alien to them. Also, please make an analysis of the language of some periodicals which are highly esteemed by milieus professionally concerned with culture. And, at the same time, please discuss cultural matters in worker milieus as well, and you will find out that there is a clear difference [as far as language is concerned]. On the other hand, if somebody tells the workers that they have to learn the language of the professionals in order to be able to discuss culture, that person demonstrates his contempt for them and, at the same time, his narrowly professional-intellectual point of view.

I believe that fascination with the language of the milieu professionally concerned with culture is one of the main factors favoring the formation

of cultural barriers. In Poland, the ambitions of people professionally active in the field of culture are directed not toward possibly wide circles of recipients but inside of their own milieu, because today the latter is already sufficiently numerous, influential, and opinion-forming to enable a person to make a career. This cannot be provided by worker or rural milieus, in which the reception of indeed the same cultural content is somewhat different and is expressed in a different language, albeit cultural and having full value. We have become a multilanguage society which, indeed, has to communicate somehow. Not noticing or ignoring these phenomena may prevent social understanding and may also affect adversely the circulation of cultural works and values.

[Question] This probably applies not only to the language. Indeed, the existing model of culture and, particularly, of its dissemination, was constructed on the basis of recognition of the priority of the needs and interests of people professionally concerned with culture. A well-known truth is that the sneeze of one or another writer or film director made a greater impression on our cultural politicians than the fact of closing several hundred cultural clubs and centers in the rural area.

[Answer] In Poland, one of the consequences of artistic creativity not being controlled by any market mechanisms was its limited communicativeness. I wish to emphasize that I have always defended and will defend the cultural rights of the professional milieu. I am of the opinion that this milieu, as soon as it has grown to a certain number, has the right to its internal life, in which an important role should be also played by theaters--laboratories, experimental galleries, etc. However, the situation worsens when such in-house criteria of a milieu come to be regarded as the only valid ones, and spectators of such experimental events are regarded as the only qualified ones. Because then we have, as a consequence, a dangerous identification of professional criteria with culture at large. Moreover, a certain bureaucratization of the process of thinking occurs, for, reversing our thesis, we can indeed say that culture is only whatever our Ministry is concerned with. And because our Ministry is concerned with creativity and with the dissemination and preservation of our [cultural] heritage, everything else appears to be unrelated to culture. In reality, however, as we know, matters of a broadly conceived culture transcend all the boundaries of the Ministry and of the professions. There are, indeed, milieus which, in a professional sense, are remote from culture and yet have a rich cultural life.

[Question] On what principle can we organize the cultural life of large milieus?

[Answer] There are several possibilities. It can be organized--and this is what teachers urge--with the support of school. This view is a result, as I have already mentioned, of identification of school with culture. Thus, everybody in this school, except for a handful of teachers, remains a perpetual student. This type of attitude reduces large social groups to the role of recipients--students and is anachronistic, because it does not help solve all the problems of culture--particularly of culture of society,

morals and manners, esthetics of everyday life, and language. These social groups do indeed participate in all this not only as students but also as carriers, which makes them potential creative artists. This applies mainly to the worker class.

[Question] Precisely, the workers ever more vigorously are demanding the inclusion of the values of the manners and morals of their class in our general national culture...

[Answer] This occurs in all industrial countries, and is closely related to a keenly felt need for [cultural] rehabilitation. We should remember that in the 19th century--incidentally, for various reasons--the worker class was criticized as being culturally inferior. Such opinions were voiced not only by the bourgeoisie but, among others, by the Trotskyites. Let us recall that Trotsky believed that the proletariat had no culture and that culture could emerge in that milieu only in a historical perspective, after the revolution...

[Question] As if automatically...

[Answer] There were two ways to ascertain this. The first one was the "Proletcult" [Proletarian culture] movement, which believed that the worker class, strengthened by the avant-garde, after attaining power and thus freeing itself of [capitalist] oppression, and, moreover, [capitalist] cultural heritage, would produce a new type of culture. The "Proletcult" movement exerted, until the 1930's, a very strong influence in the Soviet Union and also, much later, in other countries. The expectations and aspirations of the artistic avant-garde, which was disenchanted by its social isolation and at the same time was linked with certain elements of modern culture, such as technology, constructivism, machinism, and urbanism, were forcibly imposed on the worker class which, particularly in East Europe, was of rural origin. It had a baggage of rural culture that was loathsome to the avant-garde artists. Equally loathsome to them was the cultural baggage inherited from the bourgeois-aristocratic culture.

The second way, which, in principle, has won out, has been a school concept based on classical works. Its consequence was a classicization of culture, and the orientation of both the school and the dissemination toward teaching of elements of Polish and world classics. This was backed by the enormous authority of the school. Hence its unusual permanence, strongly supported by teachers, concerned for many decades with dissemination of culture, who objected to any recognition of cultural values which could not be called classic ones and which originated, first and foremost, in rural and worker milieus. These values, consequently, were treated as something inferior and lacking artistic finish or, in the case of folklore, as a painful concession to popular tastes. Actually, advocates of both the classical and the avant-garde trend transferred their criteria to worker milieus, thus making their own selection of cultural values. The traditions of worker milieus were ignored. They mattered only when, as I have already mentioned, they accepted what had been worked out in opinion-forming and "the only competent" circles of people who had professional connections with culture.

In my opinion, this is the reason, among others, for the growing distance and alienation, and the desire of the workers to emphasize their own presence in culture.

[Question] An expression of this is, among other things, the emergence of the worker writers' movement...

[Answer] Undoubtedly.

[Question] Is this just an attempt to use one's own language when speaking of one's own problems? Or is it also the realization of the well-known truth that together it is easier to join a group of professionals?

[Answer] It depends on circumstances. It is a fact that the interests of amateur creative artists can conflict with the interests of professionals, particularly when funds are scarce. Just imagine a situation in which the Ministry of Culture and Art would earmark for the needs of amateur creative art a substantial portion of available funds. It is clear that this would be regarded by the professionals as an attempt against their rights and as a threat to our entire culture.

We face a successive danger when, as I have already pointed out, we narrow down the concept of culture to creative activity. Then we take no account of certain aspects [of culture] which we do indeed try to develop, such as moral culture and the culture of language and customs. During the past two years we had opportunities to ascertain that many workers speak excellent Polish; so it turns out that language culture does not have to be linked with having a diploma...

[Question] Nor will the problem be solved by nominating a plenipotentiary of the Minister of Culture and Art...

[Answer] Of course. All the more so that in the case of the worker milieu this applies also to the language which is used in the sphere of work. The language is, indeed, also an important part of culture. The polonization of industrial terminology has begun in that 50 years. But it is not only the terminology which we are concerned with the already mentioned problems, and with the functioning of this language which must be built, clear, precise, and beautiful, and which is impoverished.

...in our time insurance is often what people have. So in their attitude toward their fellow workers, it is a matter of primary importance.

...when I was in Scandinavia, I heard a definition of "culture" as "the way of life." And so, let us repeat this once more. I do not reduce culture down to the fields of art and artistic life, but I do not wish to erect barriers between people, and are unable

to grasp the essential problems of culture. Indeed, even in a small plant there can be very interesting cultural life--measured, of course, not on the scale the National Philharmonic or the Grand Opera Theater but on the scale of the cultural needs of the milieu and its ability to produce cultural values. Let us understand that the cultural life of a person, and particularly of a worker, develops, above all, in a cycle which is connected with work and with the rhythm of basic production and not with cultural activeness in a creative form or in the form of unlimited cultural consumption. The last-mentioned can be afforded only by those people who have professional connections with culture or by those who have at their disposal an enormous amount of money and leisure.

[Question] Professor, in recent years we wanted to build a bridge between the professional culture milieu and worker milieus. This was to be aided by, among other things, "an alliance of the worker world with culture and art." From today's perspective it would be easy to ridicule both the slogan itself and the expectations of its initiators. And so, let us try to analyze what the errors consisted in and why it was impossible to achieve the expected effect.

[Answer] The first error was a conviction that such an alliance between these milieus was something natural and completely satisfying the needs of both parties. Also, an enormous role was assigned to motivations of ideology and world outlook and to skillful propaganda and organization, hence to administrative-type measures, and also to material incentives. I believe that in order to maintain and even expand such an "alliance" it is necessary to take into consideration the viewpoints and interests of both parties. In my opinion, those creative artists who seek inspiration in the worker world do not need any organizational measures. Art people, who truly have an inner ideological drive, will themselves find a way to reach worker milieus. We, at the most, should not prevent them from doing so. Can there also be other mechanisms? I believe so. Indeed, such mechanisms operate in the world of culture. The first of them is of a prestige character and is linked to the awareness and perception of one's own place in the hierarchy of creativity. In such a case, both parties can see a real advantage in their mutual contact. This must be a distinction and not an obligation for a creative artist, but it must be also a distinction for his milieu. Such matters cannot be handled through a circular. The second mechanism is represented by financial or prestige-financial connections. If the creative artist knew that his award depended on some concrete worker group and not on his colleagues on the jury committee or on Ministry of Culture and Art [MKiS] employees, I believe that it would have significance for him and also for his creativity. But in such a case the sponsorship [of the creative artist] by the worker milieu would have to be linked with a truly democratic opinion of this milieu.

[Question] Professor, there is a universal demand for stimulators of cultural life. Why precisely for stimulators?

[Answer] Because these are people who remain permanently in a certain milieu. A professional in principle cannot be a stimulator, because



represents a different world; on the other hand, a stimulator is, in other words, an activist who assumes the responsibility of taking the initiative in a milieu with which he is thoroughly familiar. He takes into consideration the needs and possibilities of that milieu and does not, as is often the case in our cultural life, bring criteria, works, and opinions from the city or a university, i.e., from outside.

In our cultural life such [modern] stimulation is much needed. It should utilize modern technology media [of communication] but should also reassure people that their achievement and traditions will not be accorded scant respect, and that they themselves will not be treated like savages who can be cultured only to the extent to which they repeat the views and opinions of professionals. In other words, a [cultural] stimulator is a person who is able to perceive that the worker milieu has its own cultural character. He is a person who believes that dissemination of culture, as one of the forms of flow of information from different social groups, will always be needed. However, this dissemination cannot be a perpetual grade school. It cannot be regarded solely as a "mission" or a "sacred mission," of people who believe that they have a monopoly on truth. In the future, we should strive to prepare, from among the worker class itself, cultural stimulators, i.e., those who will want to assume the responsibility of taking the initiative for the benefit of their milieu, of their own social class.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9577

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## NEED TO LINK CULTURAL POLICY WITH PEOPLE

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 19 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Mihnea Gheorghiu: "On Cultural Policy"]

[Text] While trying to keep up with the circulation of ideas on our continent, I have noted that most of a contemporary cultural philosopher's time and energy is spent on determining the new relationships between the "form and substance" of culture, between "expression and content," "language and speech" etc., so that one might think the great fundamental ideas have been determined like a classical musical score while the rest is left to the interpreters, who undertake their thankless task of variations on a given theme. And so the dissidents and the iconoclasts gladly perform their profession of denying anything because "originality" profits by an inherent publicity while heresy no longer repents at the stakes of the Inquisition (The successors of the Spanish grand inquisitor have recently made a public apology). Read Eugen Ionescu's "Hugoliad," for example, where Ionescu imagines he is annihilating Victor Hugo...

Europe is a continent embodying a number of geopolitical features with the aspects of a historical unity, grouping countries differing in size and economic and military strength and governed by different social-political regimes but having some traits in common and similar, coinciding interests. Militating for the "unity in diversity" of its continent, Romania considers the similarities first and the differences second, short of ignoring the latter altogether.

That is also true of the cultural cooperation of which I had occasion to write in a previous issue. A dialog from sincere positions and in good faith obligates the parties to trust and tolerance in comparing opinions. The crusades, like all the other "holy wars," belong to an inglorious past. Seneca knew that without "audiatur et altera pars" we enter into a dialog of the deaf. If a chief of state, hidebound in a dogmatic, sectarian view, declares ideological war upon another state he excludes himself without right of appeal from the republic of the intellect.

In connection with such conflicts of opinion, an older colleague, a distinguished socialist intellectual, told me about a discussion of his with a noted French

Catholic poet about the lay freedoms of conscience. When he heard the word "tolerance," the poet of the "Five Great Odes" (religious) replied ironically, "Tolerance? There are certain houses for that, sir!" Our philosopher's reply was not slow in coming: "And also for intolerance, sir. One has just been opened right at Weimar!" Actually it was the year in which Hitler inaugurated the sinister death camp that is now open to visitors as a tourist attraction.

Only obscurantism does not withstand free discussion. Unfortunately the signs of revival of backward minds are becoming more pronounced, and we are astonished to see, for example, the return of the "monkey trial" in the year of Darwin's centennial in the country with the highest standard of technological civilization.

In Romania we have succeeded in widely popularizing education on all levels in a relatively short time by means of a reform in successive stages. Compared with other countries and with Romania's own past, the numbers of institutions, teachers, pupils and students have reached very praiseworthy percentages, and the institutionalization of culture and state protection of the arts have also made rapid progress.

Yet the problem of current problems is still the acculturation of education, the methodology of its transition to the intensive period, and promotion of the moral and intellectual qualities of pupils and students, readers and spectators, and the nation.

Ideas are circulated by media and in a language of a variety that reaches a much greater number of citizens than in the past but also a far less selective one. An educated man receives information differently than an uneducated one, so that a greater (and more differentiated) presence is needed of the cultural intermediary, the pedagogue and the educator.

Nor is political information any exception to this rule. Combatting increasingly aggressive superficial learning demands our special attention, not only in restoring the truth but also in the "content-expression" relationship, upon the quality of which the propagandist's success depends today, for it is difficult to give lessons to others less informed than oneself.

I remember the start of a writer who gave hundreds of pages full of grammatical heresies to the service editor of a publishing house to be restyled. He was not devoid of talent (as it turned out after he was reeducated), but he was the product of a period when respect for the Romanian language and for the national values in general was considered incompatible with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I am pleased to note the campaign conducted by the writers and professors with a sense of responsibility for restoring the Romanian language and literature and national history to their natural rights. A political directive was necessary to lend this normal requirement the authoritative voice of Romania's men of letters. While Romania's main cultural heritage was deteriorating due to some unqualified teachers' indolence and ignorance, some of the professional theorists and historians of the language and literature who were slaves to ephemeral literary fashions wasted their time on clannish disputes. This has continued very

steadily, yet no effective measures have yet been taken by the educational establishment because we go on making great plans although we do not always have the personnel to carry them out. Actually we must prepare a whole generation of cultivated and capable educators, whose places are now taken by some ineffectual substitutes.

It is also a well-known fact that the present categories of adolescent students have been differentiated in the sense that the number of well-educated students is decreasing in comparison with that of the ill-bred ones who have fallen under the bad influence of the fringes of society. The cultural level of education, moral discipline and the sense of values has dropped alarmingly. A formal and stereotyped "civic education" provided by some individuals prematurely professionalized (and indifferent) in that field, who also make their perfunctory "plan," does more to impair than to help serious, qualified pedagogical work. It should be understood before it is too late that any kind of educational reform and any policy of "mass culture" begins and ends with a certain consideration, namely what we are cultivating here and why. Since socialism would be betrayed in what it represents that is nobler and newer in the world if we failed to understand that the ultimate goal is not the robotized individual at the production point, as in the brutalizing industries of some capitalist countries, but the professionally well-instructed and civically well-educated individual, conscious of his rights and duties in a society created to make use of his aptitudes and qualities so that he will enjoy life in honor, dignity and humanity.

Art, science and all the other social factors that make up the concept of culture must find for themselves, by an effort combined with wisdom, a new way of contributing to acculturation of education and its reportioning in keeping with the great soul of this people desirous and worthy of a better and finer life.

That is the cultural policy to which an intelligentsia truly linked to the people and the nation aspires.

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## ROMANIA

### HOARDERS OF GASOLINE CONDEMNED BY BUCHAREST PAPER

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 27 Nov 82 p 5

[Unsigned article]

[Text] Recently, at PECO gas stations, some motorists, buying gasoline over their needs, for the purpose of hoarding, most often with the intention of profiteering, have caused inherent disruptions in satisfaction of the needs of the citizens who understand to supply themselves according to the strict needs of a normal, sensible consumption, and have also caused serious fire dangers.

Excessive buying of fuel generates matters with special implications. For instance, some citizens are storing gasoline at home, in canisters, in all kinds of makeshift containers, and this may cause serious accidents in the buildings involved -- fires with baneful consequences not only for those concerned but also for the other tenants. For example, at 18 Comorel Street, at the home of N. Georgescu, serious damages were caused by gasoline canisters that caught fire; at the home of N. Constantin, in the Otopeni commune, at 88 Polona Street, two gasoline barrels and other fuel damaged the dwellings and annex structures; at 32 Dr. Iatropol Street, because of some gasoline and kerosene canisters, the building caught fire. Such serious violations of the laws in force concerning fire prevention were facilitated, here and there, also by the attitude of some workers at PECO stations who, in spite of regulations, were caught delivering gasoline to persons without cars, directly, into canisters. They include Elena Pausescu, unit head, and saleswomen Elena Vargan and Ancuta Vaslu, at the gas station on Tudor Arghezi Street, Georgeta Moise, unit head, and Niculina Craescu and Ana Cucu, saleswomen at the gas station at 262 Colentina Road. In such cases, there is the need for strict punishment for violation of legal provisions of both the servicing crew at the gas stations and of the citizens who, with their lack of responsibility, expose to serious accidents the building where they live and the tenants involved.

Causing justified anger is the fact that many of those who try to hoard gasoline have absented themselves from their work place, seriously violating production discipline and thus causing difficulties for the collectives involved. For instance, on 25 November, although they should have been at their work places, Romulus Georgescu, service head at IMGa, and Aurel Radut, lathe operator at IMUC, were at the PECO gas station on the Constantin Brincoveanu Boulevard. With good reason, the work collectives to which these persons belong firmly discussed and penalized such unpermissible actions of violation of discipline, deciding on reducing their pay by 10% and considering the whole work day involved as absenteeism. Also other citizens,



including R. Barbulescu (6 Doamna Ghica Street), economist at ICECOOP, I. Motor (123 Lacul Tei Boulevard), technician at ICVL, N. Neamu (200 Muncii Boulevard), worker at ICB -- were caught, on the morning of the same day, in the same situation at various gasoline stations. Of course, these gross violations of order and discipline, of the provisions that regulate the presence of the workers on schedule will be firmly examined in all the work collectives and exemplarily penalized.

Lastly, as pointed out, it is clear that those who try to hoard gasoline create disruptions in service, ultimately cause hardships for the motorists who, proving normal citizenship and thriftiness, supply themselves with no more than the necessary amount. These attitudes of violation of legal provisions, these selfish procedures characterize Constantin Pietris, driver at the Voluntari Center for Heavy Transportation Facilities for Construction, at whose home 300 liters of fuel oil and 200 liters of gasoline were found. In his garage at 19 Linariei Street, Enache Corneliu had hoarded 150 liters of gasoline. Also caught transporting gasoline in makeshift containers in car trunks -- even though their tanks were full -- were Alexandru Burcila, of Boto-roaga Commune, Teleorman (50 liters), Traian Popescu of Pitesti and Marin Gavrilă of Floiesti (more than 30 liters each). Of course, in these cases also, the measures stipulated by law are applied with the required intransigence.

This is how these reprehensible practices cause many chain violations -- beginning with absenteeism from work, with creation of potential fire dangers and ending with disruption of normal supplies, no more than the actual essential level, at the PECO gas stations. It is in the interest of citizens themselves to have these unpermissible attitudes severely punished and firmly stopped.

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